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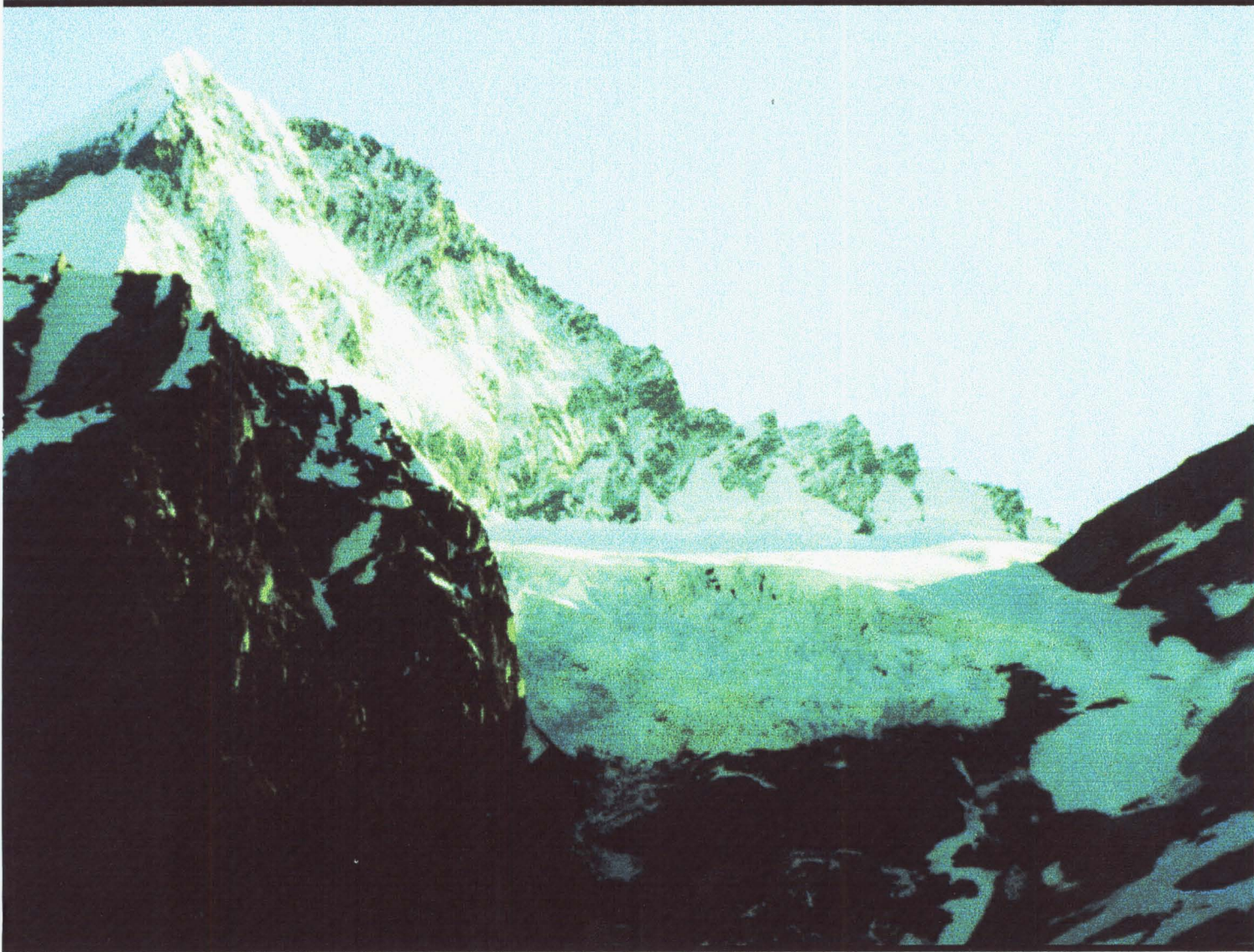
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Indigenous People and Natural Protected Areas:
Tangata Whenua and Mount Aspiring National Park

By Mike Quinn



A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Parks, Recreation and Tourist Management at Lincoln University.

Lincoln University
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2003

Ka Mauka Whakarakaraka
Tu honohono mai koutou
Ka tipuna tu tonu
Ki te taha uru o te waka tapu
Hei toka ahuru
Hei toka marino
Whakakapua mai e koutou
O koutou korowai huka
He tio
He huka
He hauhu
Tehei Maori oral

There, silent
And united
Stand our ancestral mountains
To the west of the sacred canoe
As sentinels
As protectors from the wind
Clothed in their fleecy cloud garments
And snow mantles
The piercing cold
A touch of frost
And a sharp breeze
I sneeze 'tis the breath of life

Karakia denoting the sacred nature of mountains in the tribal cultures of the
South Island of New Zealand, the Kai Tahu and Waitaha peoples.
(Reproduced from Rev. M. Grey; 1993, p. 11)

Abstract

The mountain peaks, snow-fed lakes and rugged coastlines of the South Island are renowned throughout New Zealand for their outstanding natural scenery. This thesis however, deals with the human dimension of these places, by outlining an indigenous experience of 'space', 'place' and a 'sense of place'. This thesis links ideas and patterns about these 'places' with the goal of finding out how 'Ngai Tahu whanui' cultural identity is inextricably linked to the landscape.

This thesis analyses certain aspects of the history of the New Zealand landscape by examining the connections between Ngai Tahu Whanui and specific landforms contained within the Mount Aspiring region. Although the tribe no longer has control over the area they are still bound to the area through a web of human meanings. This site was also chosen to illustrate the proliferation of sites that are significant to Maori (mountains, bodies of water and other natural resources) that are now being managed by the Department of Conservation. It is now the responsibility of the Department by way of statute to provide and give recognition to these cultural associations of iwi, while also trying to balance this with strategies to appease Western conservation values. This emphasis on providing for Maori values has also seen the adoption of many important Maori cultural concepts to environmental management.

The main findings of this thesis are that Ngai Tahu Whanui has over generations evolved a system based on whakapapa, which connects people to people and people to the landscape. Within the study area it was apparent that there were a number of individual landforms that were repositories of historical, cultural and spiritual significance to the tribe. Although significant in their own right these places when combined with others had their meanings expanded exponentially. The naming of places was a key component in the relationship between place and cultural identity for Ngai Tahu Whanui.

Researcher's note

Kia ora koutou,

Welcome. Before you set out to read this thesis, I would like to address some background issues surrounding the reasons why I am pursuing this research topic. While it is true that the examination of other cultures by someone outside of that group is fraught with many cultural issues, this should not be seen as a barrier but as a challenge to those researching this area. I have long been interested in aspects of Maoritanga, especially surrounding mythology and how it relates to landforms. As a child growing up in Turangi I was surrounded by an iwi rich in culture and mythology centred on the majestic mountains of the North Island Central Volcanic Plateau. I clearly remember one incident, which concerned a story related by a Maori Language / Culture teacher about the resting-place of a local Taniwha "Owhero." Determined to dispel this myth, myself and three friends (another Pakeha, 1 Ngati Porou and 1 Ngati Tuwharetoa) followed the directions to a swamp-like area where the Taniwha was said to reside. As young teenagers believing we knew better, we announced to the area our disbelief regarding the reality of these supposed mythical creatures. No sooner were the words out of our mouths, then air bubbles began rocketing to the surface of the water. To say the least we departed with all haste regardless of our previous beliefs! This showed me that maybe there were elements of truth tied up within myths and legends, and who was I to discount the validity of these other worldviews?

Also at this stage I was introduced to the outdoors and became an avid tramper, a passion that holds true to this day.

My academic career started at the University of Waikato where I received a degree in human geography. This stressed to me the importance of understanding the connections between people and places. Next I moved to Lincoln University where I received a degree in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management with an emphasis on national parks and backcountry areas. Therefore it was only natural to combine the elements of my two degrees and set it out in a Master's degree.

During the course of this research I have walked over 300km of track including the Hollyford, Greenstone, Routeburn, Rees-Dart, Young, Siberia, Waterfall-Rabbit Pass. I was fortunate enough to have walked away from a major fall down the face of a mountain while pursuing my research. It is my belief that I was able to walk away as the result of either dumb luck, the grace of God or because I was protected by the mana of the mountains that surrounded me...who is to say?

Mike Quinn

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I would like to note that while several of these people have been consulted during the course of this thesis, the interpretations of the Maori component, unless otherwise cited, are the sole responsibility of the writer.

I would like to thank the following people:

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Chapter One: Introducing Place

“Hokia ki nga maunga kia purea koe e nga hau a Tawhiri-matea”

Return to the mountains and there be cleansed by the winds of Tawhiri-matea

- Maori Proverb -

This thesis analyses Maori¹ environmental relationships within the context of a protected natural area. The focus is on specific cultural attachments to the landscape at the local level and the extent and form to which this relationship can be expressed within a protected natural area. The main area considered in this study is based primarily around Mount Aspiring National Park, although other areas associated with the region through the traditions of Ngai Tahu Whanui² are also considered. The objectives for this thesis are to:

- Identify and describe Ngai Tahu Whanui's geographical, historical and spiritual relationship with the landscape.
- Identify how the relationship with the landscape has changed over time.
- And to identify and describe the relationships that Maori have formed with the Department of Conservation (DOC) as the major manager of lands of prime importance to Maori.

¹ Maori is a term used to differentiate the indigenous people of New Zealand from Pakeha, that is the non-Maori, usually of European descent (Stokes, 1987, p. 118).

² Ngai Tahu Whanui refers to the collective of individuals who descend from the primary hapu of Ngai Tahu, Kati Mamoe and Waitaha, namely Kati Kuri, Kati Irakehu, Kati Huirapa, Ngai Tuahuriri and Kai Te Ruahikihiki (NTCS Act 1998). Geographically defined, Ngai Tahu Whanui territorial boundaries extend over the majority of the South Island.

In order to achieve these objectives this thesis has been designed as a succession of interlocking avenues of investigation, each of which serves to introduce the next. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to review theoretical assumptions regarding 'space', 'place' and a 'sense of place' within the academic discipline of geography. The chapter also serves to familiarise the reader with basic concepts regarding the importance of landscapes and landforms for indigenous peoples.

The second chapter explores the current state of research concerning indigenous people and 'place'. This chapter also considers the methodology employed for the case study located in Chapter Five of this thesis, and includes a discussion of the source material used in this case study.

The third chapter acts as a general guide for the reader to reflect on the historical trends that have affected Ngai Tahu Whanui in the South Island. This chapter examines the historical settlement of the South Island and the subsequent alienation of tribal lands, and the history of the Ngai Tahu Claim. Chapter Three also examines the relationship between Maori, protected natural areas and the Department of Conservation (DOC) who currently administer New Zealand's conservation estate. This chapter builds on the previous chapters by first examining those processes that contributed to the disassociation of Maori from the landscape and hence, 'Maori places'. Second, it also expresses the importance of the conservation estate and the role of the Department of Conservation for assisting the reintegration of Maori back into these 'places'.

The Fourth Chapter focuses upon the subjective meanings that the landscape holds for Maori. This is done by first examining the links between the landscape, mythology and tribal identity. Second, the links that connect people to these 'places' are then explored through a variety of concepts that underlie Maori values and beliefs, thereby, giving added insight to why such 'places' are in fact valued by Maori.

The case study in Chapter Five builds upon the foundations provided by the first four chapters by focusing specifically upon understanding Maori tribal attachments to place at the local level. This site-specific case study provides the opportunity to examine the links, which exist between Ngai Tahu Whanui and the landscape of Mount Aspiring National Park. Finally, The conclusion will draw out the general themes surrounding Maori ties to the landscape and examine the current status of Maori relations with the Department of Conservation.

To aid in the understanding of the Maori terms and concepts used in this thesis a translation of each Maori word will be given when first used in the text, exceptions to this will be where it is unwarranted, such as with names relating to people, tribes and places. A glossary is incorporated at the end of this work to aid the clarification of Maori terms and concepts. In terms of dialectical differences between the North and South Islands, the more common northern pronunciation is used in most cases rather than the southern dialect where 'k' replaces 'ng' in pronunciation. Exceptions to this are established placenames and some instances where the southern dialect is most appropriate.

1.1 A Sense of place.

How is it that we get to know places? How do we attribute meanings to them? Why do we do so? Is a landscape, such as a national park, a place for recreational activity; or is it a place for preservation? Is it a place that represents the ancient abode of gods or ancestors of certain cultures; or is it simply a collection of geological formations? It is obvious that places can represent many things and can contain more than one meaning for individuals, groups and societies. It is the purpose of this thesis to explore a particular indigenous group's interpretation of place through exploring the meanings they attach to it.

Traditionally our understanding of 'place' and a 'sense of place' have come from academic research within the social sciences. A considerable amount of academic literature concerning the 'meaning of place' and cultural attachments to landscapes has come from geographical and psychological sciences. However, the amount of literature dealing with indigenous people and their attachment to 'place' is comparatively small. In the context of 'place' based research, the early work of Tuan (1980, 1977, 1974, 1971) is considered to underpin our current understanding. Tuan and other notable geographers (Relph, 1987, 1985, 1981, 1976; Eyles, 1985) in their research, have expanded our knowledge about the 'nature of place' and human relationships to those places. Psychologists, by comparison, have sought to understand the motivations of people towards places rather than the 'nature of the place'. However, as a result of the subject matter there is a considerable amount of overlap between the two disciplines. Other contributions that have added to the body of knowledge concerning people and places have come from sociology, history and

landscape historians such as Lowenthal (1996, 1985) and Schama (1995). However, as a result of my grounding in the geographical sciences, my research and the following discussion concentrates primarily on a 'sense of place' as it occurs in geographical thought.

Geographers have long been interested in examining the ways in which society and the environment are connected and interrelated. The two essential components from which to form an understanding of 'place theory' are the concepts of 'space' and 'place'. Tuan (1975, p. 213) goes as far as stating that "space and place together define the nature of geography". A plethora of ideas and definitions relating to the concepts of 'space' and 'place' have evolved in geographical thought because of the continuous debate that surrounds the subject matter. Relph's (1975, p. 22) work on the phenomenological foundations of geography emphasises this debate, outlining the blurred boundaries between space, landscape and place as experienced phenomena.

In terms of space, Harvey (1973, p. 14) asked the question "what is space?" and found there was no absolute answer and went on to claim that 'space' could be considered in many ways. As Casey (1996) puts it "space is absolute and infinite as well as empty and a priori status" (Casey, 1996, p. 14). For the purpose of this thesis 'space' is considered to represent material concrete space or the physical dimensions of the world.

Place by comparison in its simplest form can be described as "a portion of geographic space" (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt & Watts, 2000, p. 582). However, the

concept of place denotes much more than a geographic location. Place is that portion of geographic space which is made meaningful through the ways in which people experience and attach value to it. In this way place can be described as “a discrete, temporally and perceptually bounded unit of psychologically meaningful material space” (Godkin, 1980, p. 73). In this sense, place can be seen as a result of the subjective feelings of individuals and groups towards particular locations. Therefore, a space cannot become a place until it is combined with socially constructed meaning.

At this point it is important to make a distinction regarding ‘place’ and a ‘sense of place’. A ‘sense of place’ in its purest form can be thought of as a characteristic or component of place. One aspect of the definition for place contained within the Dictionary of Human Geography suggests that ‘place’ can be considered as “a localised, bounded and material geographic entity” (Johnston, et al, 2000, p. 731). Whereas a ‘sense of place’ is thought of as “The sentiments of attachment and detachment that human beings experience, express and contest in relation to specific places” (Johnston, et al, *ibid*, p. 731).

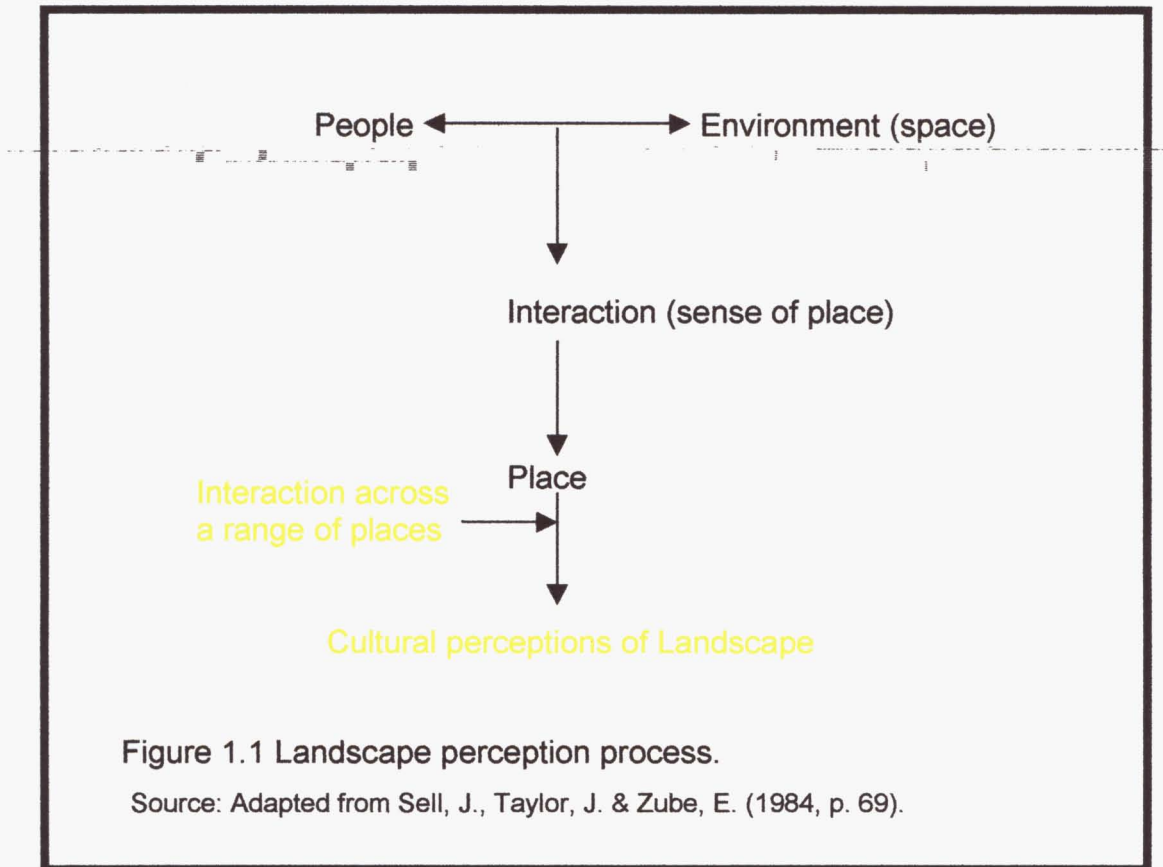
In essence, a sense of place is derived from not only the physical characteristics of a specific location but also from the ways in which people perceive these locations. As such there are many influences that impact upon the construction of a ‘sense of place’ including our physical, cultural and environmental surroundings (Norton, 2000, p. 274; Relph, 1985, p. 26). As Eyles (1985) puts it ‘sense of place’ is “a product of a unique mixture of location, personal characteristics, circumstances, place in the world and place in social and economic order” (Eyles, 1985, p. 137).

The importance of culture as a force for shaping the visible features of the environment was expressed as early as 1925, where Carl Sauer, in his essay entitled '*The morphology of landscape*', outlined the importance of culture towards creating the landscapes we perceive. "The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and the cultural landscape is the result" (Sauer, 1925).

Similarly, a component of the definition used by Larkin and Peters (1983) to define the concept of cultural landscape is that of a "district owned by a specified group of people" (Larkin & Peters, 1983, p. 139) again emphasising the importance of culture as an agent for interpreting the landscape. Personally I believe the term "owned" in their definition is too strong and like to think of a cultural landscape as a collection of places spread across an area of geographical space with which specific groups of people identify and/or interact. In this way socially produced places, can be seen to overlay the physical boundaries of space to create the landscapes and regions in which we live (Fig.1.1).

Since the early work of Sauer during the 1920's, the concept of 'cultural landscape' has become a part of mainstream geographical thought. From these beginnings the practice of cultural geography has developed into two main bodies. The first of these schools of thought is connected with empiricism and logical positivism, concentrating on how the environment is modified by human action and the consequences of that human action. This thesis, however, relies more upon the second of these schools of thought, where the emphasis is upon understanding the

relationships between historicism, interpretation and humanism. This means understanding the subjective interaction between humans and their surroundings (Rowentree, 1996, pp. 127-159). This type of subjective approach towards interpreting the transformation of space was made popular in the 1980's through approaches such as iconography (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988; Cosgrove, 1984).



The concepts of 'place' and 'sense of place' play important roles in the creation of our cultural identities. This is because 'place' has the ability to share amongst other individuals and groups the 'meanings' that are attached to specific places. It is possible for people to verbalise to one another how they feel about places, and therefore to pass on their views to others. Therefore any true attempt to

define cultural identity can only be understood with reference to the environments that surround people. In studying specific landscapes and people, one is concerned with the interaction of a particular area with a specific group. The primary emphasis here is to identify and understand how certain cultural practices act to bind that culture to the land (Norton, 2000, p.2). This binding, or cultural transformation of space, occurs because the customs and practices intrinsic to that culture act as a template from which people are able to ascribe meaning and attach value to their surroundings (Norton, 2000, p. 2; Murton, 1987, p. 92).

Geographers, including Eyles (1985) and Taun (1977, p. 1), have long been interested in the role that the landscape plays in identity formation. In terms of culture, landscapes are seen to reflect the interactions between people and their surroundings. The creation of these cultural landscapes includes both tangible (space/place) and intangible (sense of place) components. The tangible includes those physical elements of the environment that are real and visible such as mountains and rivers. The intangible includes those ideas and interactions that impact upon the perceptions of the culture shaping the landscape, such as their sacred beliefs (Plachter & Rossler, 1995, p. 15).

A reflection of this growing focus on the interaction of cultural identity and place can be seen globally. Recent moves by the World Heritage Committee have increased the awareness of the importance of cultural landscapes. The recognition of indigenous cultural landscapes acknowledges that over hundreds, even thousands of years indigenous peoples have developed complex knowledge systems regarding the resources contained within these regions. Trends in this direction led to Tongariro

National Park, being dedicated with dual natural and cultural World Heritage status in 1993. The Park became the world's first landscape to be inscribed on the World Heritage List where the cultural values were attributed solely on the landscape's spiritual and cultural value to its indigenous inhabitants. In 1994 Australia's Uluru Kata Tjuta National Park also received dual status on the World Heritage List (Plachter & Rossler, 1995, pp. 16-17).

In examining the meanings that places hold, it is important to acknowledge that people perceive these landscapes in different ways. Within New Zealand, people hold a variety of complex and far ranging 'senses of place' towards mountainous areas. For instance, some people with a Western cultural background may view a mountainous region as a place that is inhospitable; or purely as a place for recreation. In contrast, people from an indigenous culture may see this same area as being filled with human expression and knowledge due to the symbolic meanings ascribed to the area by their ancestors. The oral traditions of indigenous cultures, when combined with the landscape play an important role in the formation of their cultural identities.

The next section builds on the idea that different groups/societies perceive their surroundings in different ways. It develops a generalised view of how indigenous people perceive and interpret their surroundings.

1.2 *An indigenous sense of place.*

The meanings that are ascribed to 'places' in indigenous cultures are often manifested through oral history and mythology. As indigenous cultures place a great deal of importance upon their oral traditions, these traditions play a fundamental role in shaping a cultural perception of place. For indigenous people, myths and legends were developed from centuries of oral history, setting out the past. At this juncture it is important to clarify terminology as it relates to 'myth' and 'legend'. In terms of mythology, Belich (1996) states that 'myth', broadly defined is "a cultures legitimating explanations for natural, supernatural and social phenomena, for the relationship between them and for the culture's place in the world" (Belich, 1996).

Myths commonly deal with how elements such as the land, sky and sea were brought into being. The nature of these myths is what 'western thought' would typically term as being supernatural in origin. Myth was used to detail the creation of certain 'spaces' by the 'supernatural' thereby sanctioning the designation of certain spaces and places as 'sacred' to indigenous people (Carmody & Carmody, 1993, p. 11; Tuan, 1977, p. 132). Mythology was also used to provide examples of how ancestors prepared the earth for human habitation. These origin stories also illustrated how the landscape had been changed through their actions. For example Tuan (1977, p. 132) states that for Aboriginals, topographical features in Australia represent a record of "who were here and what they did" and are also a record of "who are here now". As such, the indigenous landscape is filled with memorials to

long-remembered mythical heroes. These traditions, when superimposed upon the landscape, act as a link between past and the present.

By comparison, 'legends' usually deal with events of recent times where much of the information contained in the narrative is thought to be historically accurate, although certain details of the legend may be exaggerated. As Alpers (1996) puts it, tribal legends are "a sequence of symbolic events not concerned with abstractions, thought to be true, strung out along a thread of time in a way that accounts for the present" (Alpers, 1996, p. 9).

For example in Waitaha tradition, 'Nga Puna Wai Karikari o Rakaihautu' refers to legendary journies of Rakaihautu through the interior of the South Island. In the course of his exploration, Rakaihautu is credited with the naming and shaping of several waterways in the interior. The actual shaping of the lakes by Rakaihautu and his magical Ko (digging tool) can be viewed in one of two ways. First, as a lot of hard work, or, second, and more probable, is that the shaping of the lakes by Rakaihautu, is a symbolic representation of his journeys of discovery and exploration throughout the South Island.

Myths and legends were viewed in such a way that the accounts told were not merely tales, but the history of these cultures. The validity of this history was confirmed through genealogy, as myths and legends created lines of direct descent from these celebrated participants. This historical sense of continuity for indigenous people encouraged a strong sense of identity and security (Carmody & Carmody, 1993, p. 16; Walker, 1992, p. 170; Tuan, 1977, pp. 152-3). Alpers (1996) outlines the

importance of oral histories to Maori tribal societies stating that “the tribal legends were of great importance to tribes, as it was through these fabulous histories by which tribal groups laid claim to their lands and recorded their descent from certain ancestors, who were descended from gods” (Alpers, 1996, p. 8).

In many indigenous cultures their philosophy, ideals and values are to a degree, mirrored in their mythology. In some instances mythology was used to guide human behaviour and define obligations to the land. One example of this for tangata whenua (local tribal people) in New Zealand was the environmental code portrayed in the Rata myth (Orbell, 1995, p. 150). The story involves Rata cutting down a tree in the forest to make a canoe, but after each night he finds that the tree has been mysteriously restored. In the story this occurs because Rata fails to observe the proper rites for felling the tree, leaving the spiritual guardians of the forest to restore the tree each night. The environmental behavioural cues contained in the Rata myth and other similar myths illustrated a number of important messages. For example, the Rata myth stresses the need to be aware of the consequences of human action upon other organisms in the environment. The environmental messages contained in the Rata myth and other similar myths stressed the need for people to strike a balance with nature in an effort to ensure that resources found within the environment were not over-exploited.

Natural landmarks such as mountains, rivers and lakes play an important role in indigenous mythology and in the formation of indigenous identities and tribal geographies. According to La Pena (1995) tribal geographies can be identified as:

Those topographical features, which give meaning and distinction to people and place and are apart from daily life. It is about topographical features, which are the embodiment of cultural expression of an ordinary and non-ordinary world, and about a concept of land and interpretations of that natural universe, which translate into a coherent world. We are concerned here with a physical geography – an ethnography which, as a whole forms a complex unit of sacred domain (La Pena, 1995, p. 20).

Since time immemorial people have pointed out the significance of certain landforms contained within the landscape to their culture or religion, in some instances these are inseparable. The landforms in these oral traditions usually appear in the form of a river or a mountain. However, Yoon (1986, p. 54) makes the point that mountains often superseded rivers in importance because mountains were typically considered as meeting points between the spiritual and material worlds. These visible reminders of mythology/history served to enhance a cultural sense of identity and a sense of intimacy with the landscape (Layton & Titchen, 2000, p. 177; Tuan, 1977, p. 157).

Mountain peaks and other high places have been regarded as holy sites or supernatural abodes since ancient times. Tuan (1977, p. 161) explains that this is because mountains are highly visible features that can be pointed to and recorded. There are hundreds of examples of mountains that are deemed to be of cultural/religious importance because of their association with mythology/history. Examples of these include: Mount Olympus, the abode of the ancient Greek gods;

Mount Sinai, the place where Moses received the ten commandments; the Himalayan peak of Mount Kailas which is revered by millions of Hindus and Buddhists, and Aoraki the sacred mountain of Ngai Tahu Whanui.

Bernbaum (1994, pp. 40-1) highlighted the sacredness of mountains in three ways. The first emphasises the general sense of awe experienced in the presence of certain mountains, setting them apart from others. These mountains were invested with spiritual power and, as such, were viewed as important conduits of cultural values. Second, people consider certain sites as places of special sanctity, directly linked to culture. This revolved around the well-established networks of myth regarding the sacred mountains and the beliefs/religious practices that surrounded these landmarks. The third way to consider the sacredness of mountains involves the presence of sites within mountains such as shrines.

In certain cultures sacred mountains are looked upon as places of power and, as such, are regarded as dangerous and therefore forbidden to ordinary humans. This is because these features are fixed in both the mythical world and the real world, and act as bridges between known and unknown realms. Sacred mountains and other landforms in these terms are important as they symbolise gateways to the unknown (Issac, 1967, p. 123). People in the real world come into contact with this spiritual dimension through one of two conditions. First, people seeking the spirit world can visit places where the two dimensions coincide and create portals. Second, people can undergo physical transformations such as those experienced during vision questing or through the Dreamtime (Carmichael, 1994, p. 91). Vision questing, an element of traditional Native American culture, refers to the practice of individuals

receiving revelations through dreams and visions. These kinds of visions were usually associated with solitary journeys to remote locations such as mountains or forests to petition supernatural powers for spiritual guidance (Time Life Books, 1997, pp. 65-67). The 'Dreamtime', an element of Aboriginal culture in Australia, explained the origins and culture of the land and its' people.

[To Aboriginals] everything in the natural world is a symbolic footprint of the metaphysical beings whose actions created the world. As with a seed, the potency of an earthly location is wedded to the memory of its origin. The Aborigines called this potency the "Dreaming" of a place, and this Dreaming constitutes the sacredness of the earth. Only in extraordinary states of consciousness (the Dreamtime) can one be aware of, or attuned to, the inner dreaming of the earth (<http://www.crystalinks.com/dreamtime.html>).

The way the Maori tribes of New Zealand revered mountains is outlined by Grey (1993) who states that "sacred mountains represent manifestations of Maori origins and interaction with atua [Gods] and stand as a testament to the adventures and discoveries of ancestral sojourners" (Grey, 1993, p. 6).

Indigenous people also regard certain bodies of water such as lakes, rivers, coastal waters, lagoons and the sea, as being sacred. The importance of water to indigenous people can be assessed in a number of ways. Of primary importance was the quality of water as it determined the welfare of people reliant on it as a resource. Water was also important because of its ceremonial use and spiritual value. This is because water was often seen as representing the life-blood of the environment. In

New Zealand the melt waters of Aoraki/Mount Cook which feed Lake Pukaki are considered sacred as they are thought to be the tears of Ranginui (the sky father) (Tau, 1990, pp. 4.12-4.14).

1.3 Contest.

A by-product arising from colonisation, for indigenous peoples has been their exposure to different ideologies regarding land use. Cultural geographers have long expressed the view that, because these landscapes are producing differing cultural ideologies, there is the potential for certain 'places' to become sites of conflict, contest or misunderstanding (Duncan & Ley, 1993). Where the meanings held by different cultural groups towards the environment are incompatible, tensions can arise.

Recently tourism has been at the forefront of many of these cultural tensions. With an increasingly mobile tourist population, increased numbers of non-indigenous people can be expected to enter sacred spaces. The problem stems from visitors having no understanding, or ignoring the importance and significance, of the places they visit. Nainastakis, the sacred mountain of the Blackfoot Indians, a traditional site for vision questing and other spiritual activities, has recently become an increasingly popular destination for tourists. The traditional activities of the Blackfoot Indians are continually being disrupted through tourist activities that degrade and ignore the spiritual dimensions of the place (Reeves, 1994, p. 265).

However, there are many examples of places where different meanings can coexist. In Australia, Aboriginal land claims have culminated in the co-management of several conservation areas. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the current joint management of Uluru Kata Tjuta and Kakadu National Parks (Sultan, Craig & Ross, 1994, p. 326).

In terms of New Zealand, this country has generally been proclaimed as a bicultural society by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi. This has produced two main differing ideologies towards the meaning of place. Maori and Pakeha perceptions of place result from two very different worldviews. In the past, present and future, land will prove to be a source of conflict and contest between Maori and Pakeha due to both historical grievances and through misunderstanding and disregard of Maori ideology by the dominant European worldview. Stokes (1987, p. 120) states that to minimise these problems people must be aware that 'Maori places' are places of tension. Therefore there must be an awareness of the kawa (protocol) of that place. In order not to transgress or overstep cultural boundaries in landscapes that are deemed important by Maori, there needs to be an understanding of the protocol that accompanies these places, by those who manage and control these spaces. This means acknowledging and following the proper procedure that the place dictates. The kawa that accompanies certain places for Maori is no different from that of courtroom protocol. For Maori, just as with formal court proceedings, there are certain practices that must be observed to maintain order and avoid transgressing the associated protocol. Acknowledging the kawa of a place can include such things as recognising the manawhenua (authority over traditional geographic areas) of the

tangata whenua and acknowledging the mauri (life essence) and ancestors of that place (Stokes, 1987, p. 120).

1.4 Summary

In the context of human geography, human existence can be understood through the application of the concepts of 'space', 'place' and 'sense of place'. These concepts structure and interpret human experience, thereby allowing people to make sense of their surroundings. The plethora of understandings that define the landscape are based upon the ways in which people are taught to learn and comprehend the environment. Individual and cultural understandings of place allow people to fix the landscape into familiar and known spatial patterns. These patterns can then be seen to contain important symbolic dimensions for individuals and cultures.

For indigenous cultures this interaction with the landscape has seen the development of powerful metaphors, symbols and oral traditions expressing their religious and philosophical views. In these terms many indigenous peoples have constructed their identities around the territories and sacred sites that sustained their ancestors. For Maori and other indigenous peoples, the natural resources of an area are central to their social and spiritual universe.

For indigenous peoples the natural features contained within their traditional territories represent important conduits of cultural values as they embody the social and spiritual relationships and obligations between indigenous peoples and the land.

An important factor concerning the bulk of indigenous people today is that the control of these lands has passed from indigenous hands. The management of these lands and sacred spaces by non-tribal organisations has long been a point of dissent amongst indigenous people as important cultural values on numerous occasions have been ignored or have had their importance undermined. An idea central to this thesis is that, irrespective of ownership and control, these relationships and obligations to the land still remain for indigenous people. In New Zealand the administration of many spaces and places of significance to Maori is currently being managed by the Department of Conservation. The management of these lands and role of the Department in providing for Maori attachments and non-territorial rights to these places is examined in depth in latter chapters.

Chapter Two: Methodological Considerations

"Whakangarongaro he tangata, toitu he whenua"

Man passes but land endures

- Maori Proverb -

As was stated earlier in the previous chapter of this thesis, the literature documenting the connections between natural landscapes, protected natural areas and indigenous people is relatively small. This is especially true when compared with the amount of literature about the meaning that 'place' holds for individuals, groups and societies. Typically much of the research done in examining indigenous links to the environment is directed towards incorporating indigenous peoples into the management of protected natural areas, rather than towards examining the meaning that these natural landscapes hold for indigenous groups. The small body of academic international literature concerning indigenous people and 'sense of place', is also mirrored in New Zealand.

A lot of the research in this area has been directed towards creating an understanding of aboriginal rights and their implications for management. Stix's (1982) investigation into national parks and Inuit rights in Northern Labrador, and Dehenz's (1982) work on aboriginal rights in relation to Inuit claims within the Northern Territories of Canada, are common examples of this interest in aboriginal rights that appeared in the 1980s and early 1990s. One of the first examples of academic research directed towards understanding indigenous peoples' connections to the landscape came with

Tuan's (1977) book entitled 'space and place'. Part of this work was devoted to understanding how mythical space was created. In his debunk of mythical space, Tuan incorporates elements from several different indigenous peoples. Since Tuan's work the literature concerning indigenous people and 'sense of place' has grown. Research directed at understanding the meanings that specific places hold for specific indigenous people over recent years includes: Reeve's (1995) research on traditional Blackfoot religious activities at Nainastakis (Chief Mountain) in Glacier National Park; Basso's (1996) portrayal of a Western Apache landscape; La Pena's (1995) description of the sacred geography of the Wintu in Northern California; and Spence's (1999, 1996a, 1996b) historical investigation into the interaction of Native American tribes with Glacier and Yosemite National Parks.

A lot of the initial research in New Zealand (Asher & Naulls, 1987; Stokes, 1987; Murton, 1987; Matunga, 1995) has been directed at understanding the meanings that the landscape holds for Maori. But it is generalised and lacks examples of site-specific research. This is because a lot of this research is centered upon gaining a 'Maori' overview, thereby ignoring the subtle variations that exist between tribal geographies. In recent years, however, examples of specific tribal geographies have begun to emerge. This includes Tau's (2000) analysis of Ngai Tahu geography within the Canterbury Region and Gray's (1993) paper on the meanings of South Island Mountains for Ngai Tahu. There are also a number of good tribal histories available that give insight into some of the connections that specific tribes have with certain landmarks. Examples of these include Grace's (1959)

tribal history of Ngati Tuwharetoa; Halbert's (1995) *History of the Horouta canoe, Gisborne and the East Coast*; and Turoa's (2001) *Te takoto o te whenua o Hauraki*, which deals with Hauraki landmarks. In the South Island Tau (2002, 2000), Dacker (1990), Russell (2000) and Hana O'Regan (2001) to some extent have discussed the links and meaning that specific landscapes hold for Ngai Tahu Whanui. People researching a 'sense of place' (Stewart, 1997; Harper, 1993) have also commented on the cultural meanings that particular landscapes and landforms hold for Maori.

To date the majority of New Zealand research into indigenous people and protected natural areas deals with Treaty issues and with ways of incorporating Maori into the management of protected natural areas. Examples of this have included Ducker's (1994) research on customary use and Irwin's (1996) discussion on the co-management of national parks in New Zealand. Several authors, including White (1994) and Gunn (1994), have looked at the role conservation land could play in terms of Treaty negotiations and claim settlements. Other researchers have also commented upon Maori recreation (Matunga, 1995, 1994) and upon Maori use and non-use of the conservation estate (Lomax, 1988). This thesis goes towards filling the gap that I believe exists in the literature by dealing with specific connections of tangata whenua to a protected natural area.

2.1 Research approach

My approach to this research is a reflection of my interest and grounding in human geography. Geographers, who study the environment, do so through one of three approaches. According to Habermas (1978) these three approaches are: empirical – analytical; historical – hermeneutic; and critical. This thesis focuses upon a historical – hermeneutic approach, where the emphasis is upon studying, analysing and interpreting the symbolism that is attached to the landscape. This historical – hermeneutic approach in essence emphasises “the social construction of place, taking into account such aspects as there emotional, aesthetic and symbolic appeal” (Unwin, 1992, p. 148).

In order to study ‘place’ as it is experienced in the real world and as it is experienced subjectively as a ‘sense of place’ I have employed a case study as my major research tool. A case study approach was deemed appropriate for this thesis because it reduces the scale of the research to a manageable size. By employing a case study I can study specific examples of phenomena within a real life setting.

The aims of this case study are to:

- Identify and describe Ngai Tahu Whanui’s geographical, historical and spiritual relationship with landscape.

- Identify and describe the placenames and stories that are contained within the landscape of the Mount Aspiring Region.
- Identify the visual elements within the Mount Aspiring Region that contribute to Ngai Tahu Whanui's experience of the landscape.

2.2 The nature of the research

The research subject can be termed what Lee (1993) describes as a "sensitive issue." This is because it deals with reconstructing a 'sense of place' for a different cultural group. As such, it is important to consider any constraints or limitations that could be imposed on the research as a result. Possibilities exist for cultural boundaries to be erected if the research is perceived as an intrusive threat, that is a Pakeha transgression of Maori geographies. Many may question what right do I have to explore the traditional geographies of Ngai Tahu Whanui, not being of Ngai Tahu descent. This is a valid point. However, as Hana O'Regan (2001, p.31) points out, it is important for those living in the South Island who are not of Ngai Tahu Whanui descent to have an understanding of Ngai Tahu Whanui politics and culture especially as the iwi is becoming increasingly important in the region's economy and environmental management. This piece of research therefore represents my efforts, as a pakeha living in the South Island, to understand certain aspects of Ngai Tahu Whanui.

2.3 Access

As a result of the nature of the research it was deemed important to notify both the Department of Conservation and the appropriate Papatipu Runanga about the intent of the research. This entailed drafting letters and approaching a representative of the Otakou Papatipu Runanga to make sure they did not have any objections towards the research proceeding. DOC was approached through conservancy and area offices in the region where the research was to take place. This involved contacting the Southland and Otago Conservancies as well as the Te Anau and Wanaka Area offices with a brief description of the research proposal.

2.4 Information Collection

The information obtained for the case study was based primarily upon an extensive literature search. These literature searches included both academic literature and general sources. The source material included national park publications, legislation, archaeological reports, histories of the region, accounts from explorers and a limited amount of local knowledge from informants.

The information collected was divided into the following classes:

- General information regarding the region and the park. This included the geology of the region and a general description of the park.
- Information regarding the history of Maori in the region. This included the location of settlements, their age and distribution through the study area.
- Information regarding the attachment of Ngai Tahu Whanui to certain physical features in the study region. This included relating traditional mythology to certain landforms.

The purpose of this information collection is to provide a framework through which to examine Ngai Tahu Whanui 'sense of place' within the boundaries of Mount Aspiring National Park.

Considerable effort in the past has gone into the recording and the collection of Maori placenames within the Mount Aspiring region. Included in this are Edward Shortland's sketches of the lakes district in 1844; the Taiaroa map filled in by Ngai Tahu during 1879-80; Taylor's (1952) book entitled "*Lore and history of the South Island Maori*"; and Herries Beattie's innumerable books concerning Maori placenames in the South Island. Herries Beattie's work was seen as an important source of information for this research project as his works include a number of books that deal exclusively with traditional placenames and mythology for specific areas in the South Island including Canterbury, Otago and Fiordland. A number of Beattie's books contain information that was deemed relevant to the study area, although some books

contain a greater amount of detail than others. Examples of Beattie's books include: "*Maori placenames of Otago*" (1944); "*The Maori's and Fiordland*" (1949); "*Maori lore of lake, alp and fiord*" (1994b); "*Our southern most Maori*" (1954); "*Traditional life-ways of the Southern Maori*" (1994a); and "*Tikao Talks*" (1980). While there have been debates over some of the interpretive judgements of Beattie, the sheer amount of detail recorded by Beattie makes his work an invaluable resource. However, while Beattie's work contains a huge amount of raw information gathered from interviews with elderly Maori scattered throughout the South Island between 1900-1950, there is little to differentiate from where particular individual contributions have originated. Beattie's sources were all major figures of South Island Maori and were aged between seventy and eighty and were authorities on different subject matter in their own right. Despite his sources being spread from Bluff in the south, to Tuahiwi in the north, the information collected shows remarkable consistency and uniformity between the regions. Tipene O'Regan best sums up the importance of the material collected by Herries Beattie for Ngai Tahu history. "At a critical phase in our history, when much of our custom and tikanga was being discarded as of no further relevance, Beattie was assiduously collecting the remnants of information on our past" (O'Regan in Beattie, 1994a, p. 7).

The material from Herries Beattie was supplemented with information extracted from the Deeds of Recognition contained within the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. The Deeds of Recognition contained large amounts of information regarding specific landforms and the cultural, spiritual,

historic and/or traditional association on which the mana and tangata whenua status of Ngai Tahu Whanui in relation to specific areas is based.

Secondary source material was used to build a contextual picture of the region. The overview of the physical characteristics of the park was constructed through the use of DOC publications such as management plans for the park (1994) and Peat's (1994) book: "*Land Aspiring*". A general history of the area was constructed through the use of archaeological reports and historical articles. This includes Hooker's (1986) work on the archaeology of the South Westland Maori and Hamel's (2000) report to DOC on archaeological sites within Otago. In terms of the section written on pounamu, this archaeological information was supplemented with information from a number of Beattie's books as well as Brailsford's (1996) investigation into the old greenstone trails of Southern Maori and Beck's (1984) work regarding the origins and location of greenstone in New Zealand.

2.5 Visual elements

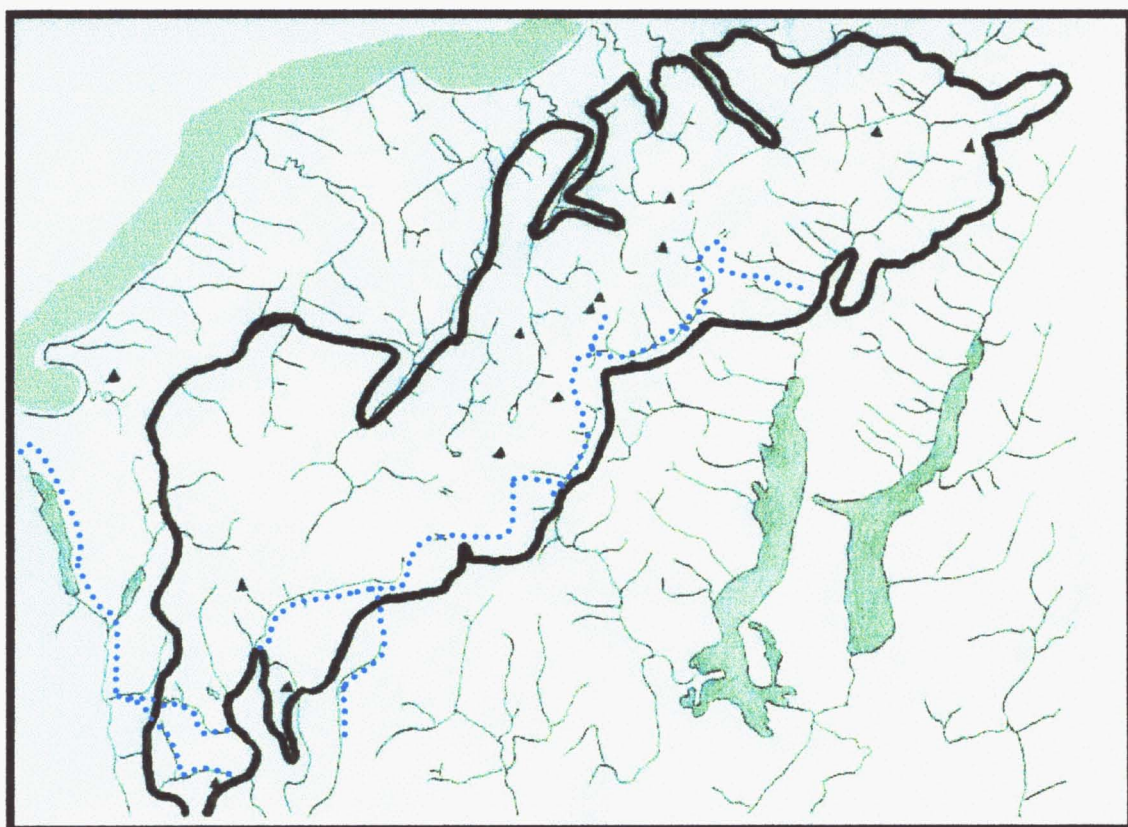
The collection of images for the visual component was based upon a number of field trips to the area (fig. 2.1). These visits to the region were spaced over a year and a half and were aimed at securing images of the major landforms associated with the region and the traditions of Ngai Tahu Whanui.

During the course of the research I visited the Mount Aspiring region four times, following a network of tracks and huts throughout the area to

secure the visual elements for this research. The dates I visited the region and the areas I covered are as follows:

- Dec 2000 – Hollyford, Greenstone and Routeburn River Valleys
- Mar 2001 – Makarora, Young, Wilkin and East Matukituki Rivers
- Nov 2001 – Rees and Dart Rivers, and Cascade Saddle
- Mar 2002 – West Matukituki River

Figure 2.1 Area covered by field trips



The photos obtained on the field trips were taken with a Ricoh XR6 camera with a 52mm lens on Kodak 100 ASA film. This was also supplemented with photos taken on Kodak Max disposable cameras. All the

photos finally used in this thesis were then scanned to computer images in JPEG format.

2.6 Constraints and Limitations

In retrospect there are several things that stand out as constraints and limitations to the final version of this research. The most obvious and probably most important constraint for the research is my reliance on academic and printed material for the majority of the discussion in this thesis. The material collected from primary sources such as tangata whenua and Kaupapa Atawhai Managers when compared against my use of printed material is relatively small and hence a limitation upon the research. This reliance on academic and printed material is primarily the result of three factors: time, distance and financial. In terms of time, my time management practices led to specific decisions being made at certain times during the research that with the opportunity of hindsight will probably affect the validity of the research. This included such things as not anticipating and planning for delays to the research caused by fieldwork. For example my research was put on hold for several months after a fall suffered during the course of my fieldwork. The injuries sustained to my back, robbed me of a large chunk of time, therefore limiting the scope of my research (the experience also taught me that the human body was not designed to bounce). This loss of time greatly upset the time-line I developed for this thesis of which the ramifications are only now becoming clear. In terms of distance and financial constraints in hindsight it would have been more viable studying a place closer to Christchurch, Arthur's

Pass or Horomaka (Banks Peninsula), instead of a place 500km (Mt Aspiring) away.

Hindsight is such a beautiful thing, but as it is retrospective it means that it is too late to change the past. However it can be used as a guide to ensure that we don't relive our past mistakes but learn from them.

2.6 Summary

Within the literature, there is a lack of documented research on indigenous people and their specific connections to places as experienced through a 'sense of place'. In terms of research dealing with protected natural areas, most of this research deals with incorporating indigenous people into the management of conservation lands. In contrast this thesis deals with an indigenous tribe's interpretation of place, through an investigation of 'Maori spaces and places' within Mount Aspiring National Park. To achieve this a historical – hermeneutic approach towards interpreting the environment has been adopted. This involves understanding the subjective interaction between humans and their surroundings. These interactions are the basis for the next two chapters. Chapter Three investigates the historical context, and the role of the current agency managing the conservation estate in New Zealand, while Chapters Four deals with the subjective interaction of people with their surroundings.

Chapter Three: The New Zealand Context

“Kia tuohu koutou, Me he maunga teitei, Ko Aoraki anake”

If you must bow your head, then let it be to the lofty mountain Aoraki

- Ngai Tahu saying -

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, the chapter provides a brief historical overview of events that have occurred in the South Island over the last 200 years, which have contributed to the disassociation of Ngai Tahu Whanui from their traditional tribal lands. The second section provides an overview of the relationship that tribal bodies (iwi) have with New Zealand's protected natural areas and the present day body administering these lands, the Department of Conservation. This section also examines Ngai Tahu Whanui's relationship with DOC's southern conservancy offices. It is the position of this thesis that the relationship of Ngai Tahu Whanui with the landscape cannot be purely understood from the examination of the subjective meaning of these places. This meaning needs to be considered alongside the historical evolution of the landscape, where events, both past and present have left an imprint upon human action directed at these places. This entails having a thorough knowledge and understanding of historical, environmental as well as treaty issues within the South Island and throughout New Zealand. By examining the historical trends we can begin to appreciate how and why tribal bodies like Ngai Tahu Whanui became disassociated from their significant spaces and places, and the effect of this upon their ability to express their relationship with the landscape. Understanding the relationship

between the Department of Conservation and Maori is also important, because within the conservation estate there are many examples of sites that are considered to be sacred to certain tribal groups. This discussion highlights the role that the Department of Conservation has in recognising and providing for Maori interests in the management of the conservation estate. It also highlights the evolution of frameworks and mechanisms employed by the Department to account for Ngai Tahu Whanui and Maori worldviews. The importance of the Departments role becomes all the more clear once considered alongside the subjective meanings that these places hold.

3.1 A short history of the alienation of Ngai Tahu land in the South Island.

Te waka o Aoraki (the canoe of Aoraki), Te ika a Maui (the fish of Maui), Aotearoa (land of the long white cloud) are examples of the names that the indigenous people of New Zealand use to describe the islands and topography of this country. Early estimates of Maori settlement give the country a history that spans about 1000 years (Sinclair, 2000, p. 14; Davidson, 1992, p. 6). In terms of the settlement of Aotearoa there are marked variations that occur between the North and South Islands of New Zealand. Due to the direction of this thesis, however, I have decided to focus purely upon the history of Ngai Tahu Whanui in the South Island.

Early estimates of tribal occupation¹ in the South Island have been placed to around the tenth century. This estimate is the result of archaeological evidence sourced from two early moa butchery sites at Waitaki and Awamoa (Anderson, 1983, p. 7). Southern tribal traditions of settlement begin with Te Rapuwai, and archaeological evidence suggests that between the tenth and fifteenth centuries there were frequent small scale migrations of people into the South Island (Anderson, 1983, p. 7). These people are now collectively referred to as Waitaha.

The main expansion of early settlement in the South Island did not occur until the thirteenth century, when settlement spread both inland and along the coast. Evidence also suggests that settlement waned in the fourteenth century, in conjunction with the decline in the moa population (Anderson, 1983, p.24). Further growth in the southern population did not occur until the migrations of Kati Mamoe in the sixteenth century and Ngai Tahu in the seventeenth century (Anderson, 1983, p. 30). The dispersal of population for early migrations into the South Island flowed primarily from the southern districts of the North Island, while Hawkes Bay and the East Coast formed the epicentre for the latter migrations of Kati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu southward. According to Anderson (1998, pp. 22-23) these southward migrations were the result of pressures upon land and resources by an

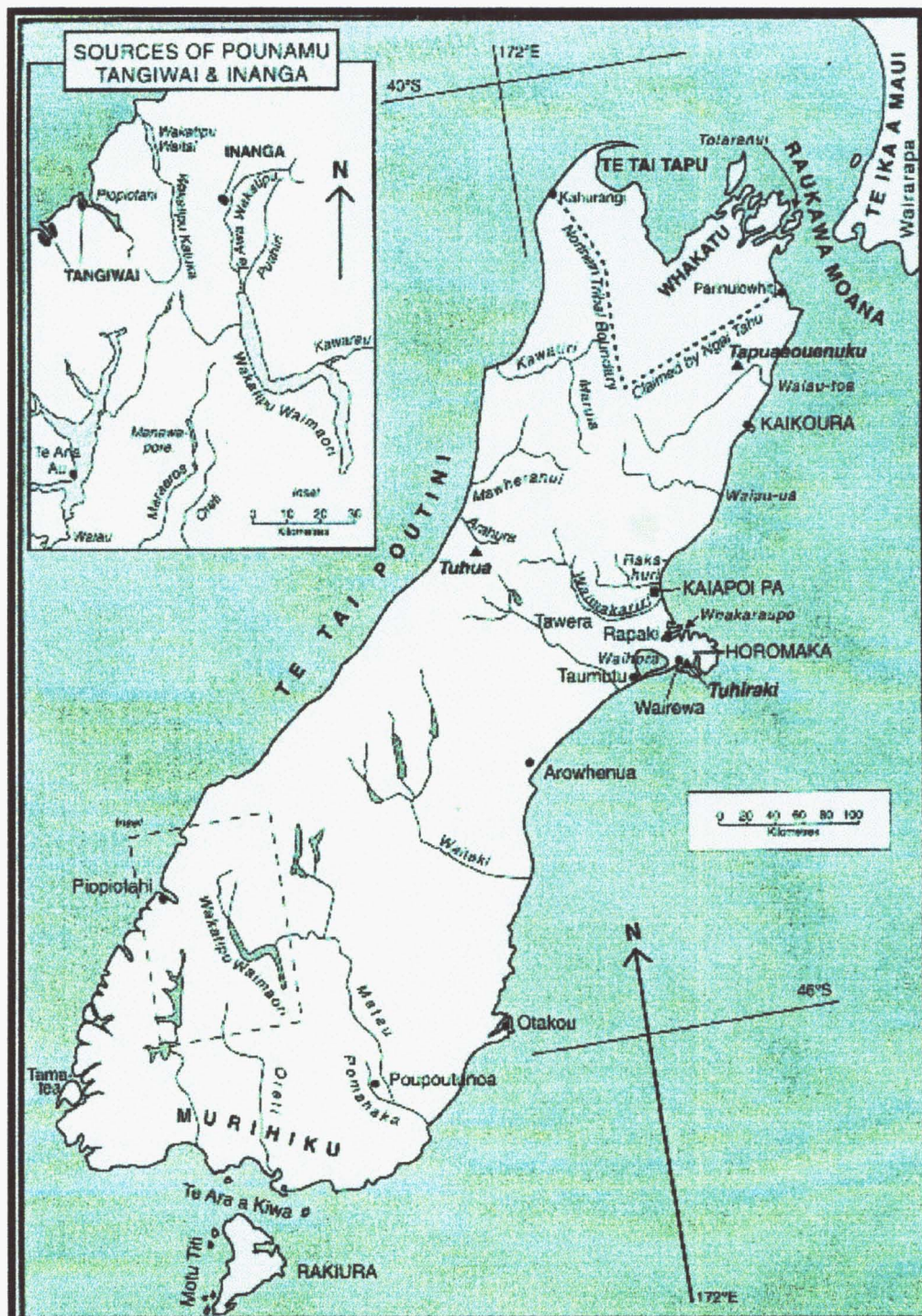
¹ A fuller description of Ngai Tahu settlement can be found in: Anderson, A. (1998). *A welcome of strangers*. University of Otago Press: Dunedin (pp. 18-24); Anderson, A. (1989). 1000 years of Maori settlement. In D. Green (Ed.), *Towards 1990: 7 leading historians examine significant aspects of New Zealand History*. G. P. Books (pp. 1-19); Anderson, A. (1983). *When all the moa ovens grew cold*. Heritage Books: Dunedin (pp. 7, 24, 29); Anderson, A. (1982). Maori settlement in the interior of Southern New Zealand from the early 18th to late 19th centuries. *Polynesian Society Journal* 91,1, pp. 53-80; Evison, H. (1993). *Te Wai Pounamu*. Aoraki Press: Christchurch.

expanding population in the lower North Island. By the early nineteenth century the authority of Ngai Tahu had become entrenched through conquest and truce throughout what is now the traditional rohe (fig. 3.1) for Ngai Tahu Whanui (Anderson, 1998, p. 92).

From around the 1790's up until the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the cultural framework of the country was essentially Maori. In the years before the British annexed New Zealand there was only a small European presence. In the South Island this presence was marked by small settlements of whalers, sealers and missionaries who, for the most part, were assimilated (ie. married into tribal communities) or tolerated by southern Maori. These early settlements for the most part were predominantly coastal and located in the southern reaches of the South Island. The distribution of these early settlements was related to their proximity to resources such as sealing grounds or natural harbours (Anderson, 1998, pp. 75-77; Evison, 1993, pp. 25-26).

According to Anderson (1998, p. 90) the population base of Ngai Tahu was relatively small, numbering somewhere between 4000-5000 in 1830. This population base became destabilised during the 1820s and 1830s as the result of events such as the kai huanga feud, the campaigns of Te Rauparaha and the spread of disease. In 1825 an episode of inter-hapu conflict commonly

Fig. 3.1 Major settlement locations in pre-European South Island
Source: Evison, E. (1993). p. 2



referred to as the Kai Huanga² feud occurred as the result of a breach of tapu against a local chief, Te Maiharanui. The kai huanga feud highlighted the fragile balance of power, and the amount of regionalism between separate hapu. This inter-tribal conflict was as much about sub tribal rivalry as it was about transgressions of tapu and retaliation (Anderson, 1998, p. 78).

This was followed a series of armed campaigns led by the Ngati Toa chief Te Rauparaha³ against Ngai Tahu. A number of armed encounters between Ngai Tahu and Ngati Toa, beginning in 1828, were fought at varied locations throughout the South Island. Hostilities finally ceased with the release a number of Ngai Tahu chiefs held by Ngati Toa in 1839. The armed campaigns of Te Rauparaha devastated the Ngai Tahu population by killing and capturing thousands, as well as depopulating the northern tribal territory of Ngai Tahu Whanui. It has been suggested that the Kai Huanga feud in conjunction with the armed campaigns of Te Rauparaha reduced the population of Ngai Tahu by about a quarter (Anderson, 1998, pp. 80-90). These episodes of conflict were also followed by epidemics⁴ such as measles and influenza during the 1830s serving to further destabilise the Ngai Tahu population (Anderson, 1998, p. 193; Evison, 1993, pp. 85-6).

² see Anderson, 1998, pp. 78-80; Evison, 1993, pp. 35-42.

³ An account of Te Rauparaha and his effect on Ngai Tahu can be gained through: Anderson, A. (1998). *A welcome of strangers*. University of Otago Press: Dunedin (pp.80-90). Evison, H. (1993). *Te Wai Pounamu*. Aoraki Press: Christchurch (pp. 47-81).

⁴ Information regarding the introduction of disease into the South Island can be found in: Anderson, A. (1998). *A welcome of strangers*. University of Otago Press: Dunedin (p. 193). Evison, H. (1993). *Te Wai Pounamu*. Aoraki Press: Christchurch (pp. 85-6).

The effects of the Kai Huanga feud, the armed campaigns of Te Rauparaha and the spread of disease were compounded by the growing desire for Ngai Tahu land by European settlers. In 1840 with a view to settling New Zealand, the British Crown entered into a treaty with Maori, which emphasised for Maori, the retention of land. The Treaty of Waitangi confirmed British sovereignty over the region; and officially recognised the status and rights of Maori and Pakeha within that region (Gray, Hayward, de Ronde & Shearer, 1988, p. 4). The signing of the Treaty in the South Island⁵ occurred on 27 May 1840, at Akaroa. The signing of the Treaty only took place in two other locations in the South Island, Ruapuke and Otakou, despite various other Ngai Tahu settlements being spread along the coast (Evison, 1993, pp. 127-133).

As a result of inter-hapu conflict, the campaigns of Te Rauparaha and the ravages of disease, Ngai Tahu was not in a position of strength to deal with the demand for tribal lands by increasing numbers of European settlers. During 1820s and 1830s, Ngai Tahu had become disorganised, suffered from the loss of people and leadership, their northern territories were depopulated with the movement of refugees further south. Ngati Toa had also humiliated the manawhenua of Ngai Tahu by selling a block of Ngai Tahu's tribal land (from its northern boundaries to as far south as Kaiapoi). For these reasons European settlement established a solid foundation in the South Island and

⁵ information regarding the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in the South Island can be found in greater detail in: Evison, H. (1993). *Te Wai Pounamu*. Aoraki Press: Christchurch (pp. 125-143).

latter prospered during the 1860s, as they were not restricted in their development by the large population of Maori found in the north (Anderson, 1998, p. 90). This was also supplemented with the discovery of gold in 1861 and pastoral opportunities for settlers that were not available in the heavily forested North Island. As Olssen & Stenson (1989, p. 154) put it "the dry rolling tussock land east of the Southern Alps were ideally suited to grazing and the Ngai Tahu, already savaged by the Ngati Toa, offered no resistance".

By comparison, the alienation of Maori land in the North Island was achieved through a series of armed conflicts commonly referred to as the New Zealand Wars⁶ during the 1860s and latter through the legislative power of the 1860s Land Acts. The institution of the Native Land Court⁷ further facilitated the process of land alienation by undermining tribal power structures and the communal nature of traditional Maori society by individualising title to land.

3.2 South Island Land Purchases and Te Kereme (the claim)

The procurement of land from South Island Maori revolves around several large-scale land purchases (fig. 3.2), which extinguished customary title over Ngai Tahu's traditional territory. These land purchases began to be

⁶ see Belich, J. (1986). *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict*. Wellington: Auckland University Press.

⁷ For the effects of the Native Land Court see Williams, D. V. (1999). *'Te Kooti tango whenua': The Native Land Court 1864-1909*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

contested by Ngai Tahu Whanui within a few years. Te Kereme⁸ or the Ngai Tahu claim arose over large-scale Crown land purchases in the South Island dating from the Otago purchase of 1844 through to the Rakiura purchase of 1864. The "nine tall trees" of the Ngai Tahu claim (Wai 27) to the Waitangi Tribunal refer to eight major land purchases (with the three Banks Peninsula purchases considered as one) and mahinga kai. These land purchases included: Otakou (1844); Kemp's deed (1848); Banks Peninsula (1849 and 1856); Murihiku (1853); North Canterbury (1857); Kaikoura (1859); Arahura (1860); and Rakiura (1864). The mahinga kai section of the claim includes the lack of access to food and other natural resources, and the control over the places where these resources were gathered. The grievances of the claim stem from the Crown not honouring the terms of agreement for ten major land claims. On the part of Ngai Tahu there is no argument that the land was sold (apart from some boundary disputes in the Kemp purchase), only that the terms of those sales were not upheld. The so-called 'hole in the middle' boundary dispute over the Kemp purchase saw Ngai Tahu claim not to have sold Kemp the interior of the Island, only the land on the Eastern coastal plains up to the foothills (Evison, 1993, p. 488; Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 389).

These land purchases were undertaken on the condition that reserves were to be set aside. This meant that ten per cent of the 34.5 million acres sold was to be reserved for Ngai Tahu. Other areas of dispute included the

⁸ for a full history of Crown land purchases in the South Island see: Evison, H. C. (1997). *The long dispute: Maori Land rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press; Evison, H. (1993). *Te Waipounamu: The Greenstone Island*. Christchurch: Aoraki Press.

loss of access to mahinga kai (traditional food gathering areas) and waahi tapu (sacred areas) (Ngai Tahu, 1997, p. 59).

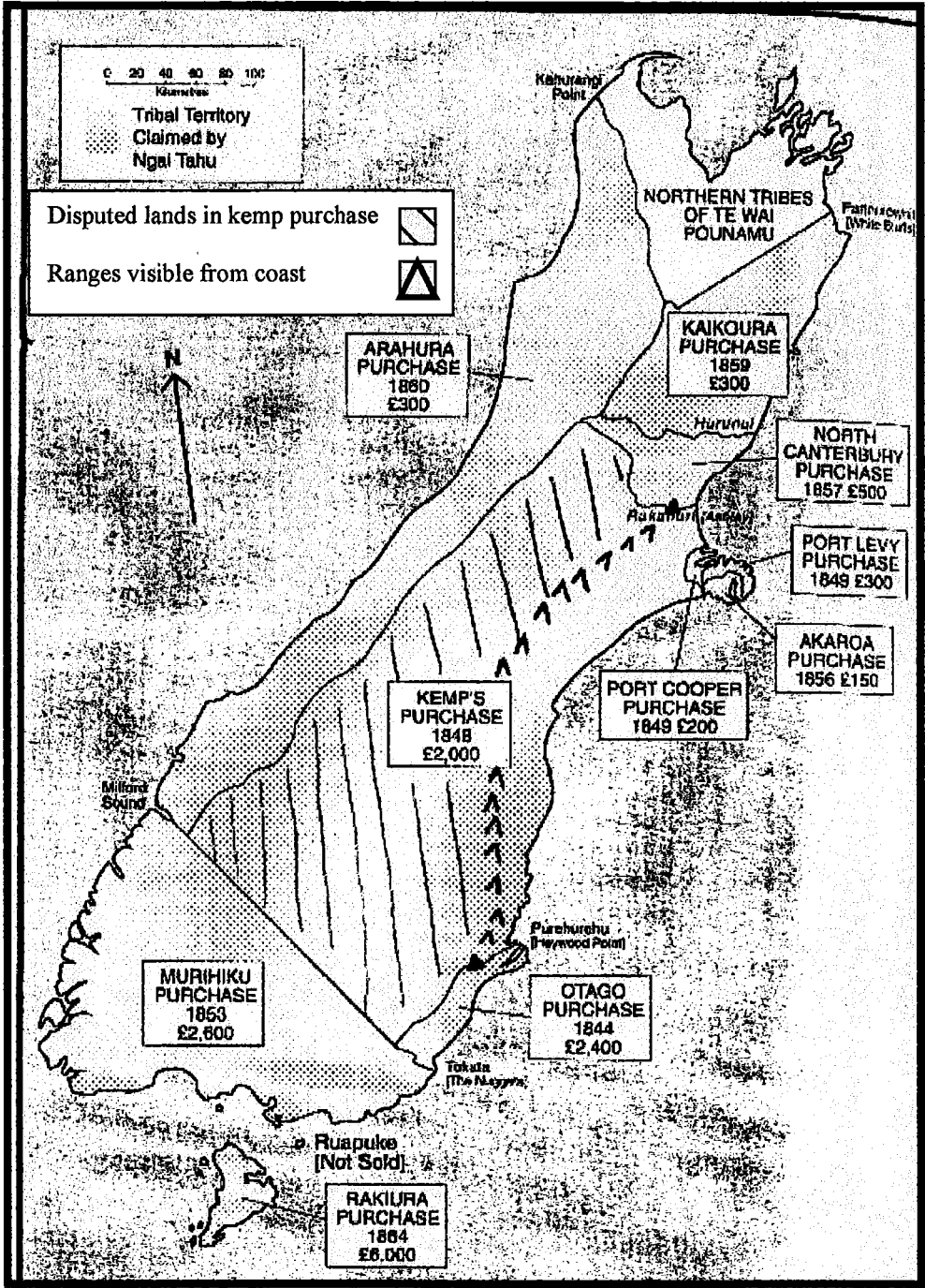


Figure 3.2. The ten official purchases of Ngai Tahu territory, 1844-1864, and the disputed hole in the middle
Source: Evison, H. (1993). pp. 263, 404.

According to Anderson (1998, p. 206) "in only two decades, 1844-64, Ngai Tahu were left with barely one acre out of every one thousand acres they had once owned". The end result of these land purchases as Tau (2000b, p. 222) puts it, saw Ngai Tahu "stripped of its resources, ignored by the new political order of Pakeha and, worse ridiculed". The history of Ngai Tahu's claim⁹ stretches back to 1849, and has been marked by sporadic attempts at redress. The claim appeared in 1868 before the Native Land Court where it received "additional paltry rights". Royal Commissions of Inquiry into the Ngai Tahu claim were held in 1878 and again in 1886, with no apparent outcomes. At the turn of the twentieth century the South Island Landless Natives Act 1906 allocated 116, 000 acres of remote and isolated bushland to the descendants of the tribe. Another Royal Commission was held in 1921, although it was not until 1944 that the Government made some kind of concession towards the claim with Ngai Tahu Claim Settlement Act. However, the Act was passed without the government seeking the agreement of Ngai Tahu (Evison, 1993, pp. 481-486; Te Karaka, 1997, p. 59).

It was not until the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, and a subsequent amendment to the Act in 1985, that the claim finally found a forum in which to be heard and addressed. Until the Act's amendment in 1985, the power of the Waitangi Tribunal had been severely limited as it could only make recommendations to the Crown on breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi dating from 1759. The amendment saw the jurisdiction of

⁹ see Evison, H. (1997). *The long dispute: Maori land rights and European colonisation in southern New Zealand*. Canterbury University Press: Christchurch.

the Waitangi Tribunal extended back to 1840, resulting in hundreds of claims being brought against the Crown, covering all aspects of the conversion and loss of Maori customary title (Alston, et al, 1997, p. 216). As a result Ngai Tahu lodged their claim with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986, alleging that the Crown in respect of all ten official purchases had breached the Treaty. In February 1991 the Waitangi Tribunal issued a three-volume report on the Ngai Tahu land claim, finding in favour of the tribe (Evison, 1993, pp. 487-490). The subsequent outcome of this report has been the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, containing redress in the form of: an apology from the Crown, the return of Aoraki/Mt Cook to the tribe, economic redress of \$170 million and cultural redress that enables Ngai Tahu Whanui to express its traditional relationship with the environment (Ngai Tahu, 1997, p. 3).

The settlement of land claims, such as the Ngai Tahu Claim, across New Zealand, brings with it guarantees of title to land in territorial and non-territorial instances. Territorial rights incorporate claims of manawhenua (authority of tangata whenua over specific geographical areas) and rangatiratanga (rights of autonomous self-regulation) over land; while non-territorial claims refer to rights that exist independently of soil ownership such as fishing or birding rights (McDowell and Webb, 1995, p. 208). The Crown has sought to resolve issues relating to territorial and non-territorial rights of Maori in New Zealand through a negotiated claims process involving individual iwi and hapu. Since private land is excluded from the claims process, Crown agencies such as the Department of Conservation will feature prominently in the outcome of these negotiated settlements. For instance, the

Department of Conservation currently administers 14 national parks, several forest parks and other reserved lands, which, when combined covers thousands of square kilometres. Many of these lands contain examples of cultural resources that relate to the territorial and non-territorial rights of Maori tribes. The following section therefore seeks to address some of the issues that face the Department of Conservation and iwi.

3.3 Maori and the Conservation Estate

The foundations for New Zealand's current conservation estate were laid between 1890 and 1919. During this period an expanding reserve system provided the substructure upon which to build a national protected natural areas system. The protection of these areas during this period was, in part, to preserve the scenery and, in part, to preserve examples of the indigenous biota. The extent of this can be seen in the number of scenic reserves that emerged along road and rail corridors and in coastal areas during this time (Devlin, 1995, p. 9; Dingwall, 1994, p. 233; Devlin, 1993, pp. 87-88; Roche, 1984, p. 73). A large percentage of the lands that currently hold National Park status began as scenic reserves. For example a large portion of what was to become Westland National Park in 1960 began its existence as a scenic reserve in 1911 under the control of the New Zealand Government Tourist Department (Department of Conservation, 1989a, p. 1; Department of Land and Survey, 1980, p. 1).

Discussion of the origins of New Zealand's conservation estate cannot be complete without an examination of New Zealand's first National Park, Tongariro. Tongariro National Park not only holds the honour of being New Zealand's first National Park, but it is also the first National Park in the world to be gifted by an indigenous people. In 1887 Te Heuheu Tukino, Paramount Chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, gifted the peaks of Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro to the Crown forming the nucleus of the current park. The 'gifting' of these peaks, however, often overshadows the reasons behind their gifting. The principal reason that the gift took place was because of a subtle interplay between colonial politics, overseas influences and Maori fears regarding the alienation of tribal land. The gifting of the peaks to the nation by Ngati Tuwharetoa was an effort to preserve the mana of the mountains, while at the same time avoiding the sub-division of the Tongariro block through the Native Land Court (Devlin, 1993, pp. 86-87; Grace, 1959, pp. 58-68; Cowan, 1927, p. 30).

As with other countries around the world such as the United States, and Canada, early areas deemed suitable for protection centred upon mountainous regions because they were seen as having a low economic value. In New Zealand, settlers and politicians commonly regarded large areas of the South Island as being "wasteland" because they were deemed to be utterly worthless from an agricultural standpoint. As a result many of these "wastelands" soon became incorporated in New Zealand's reserve system at the start of the twentieth century. Examples of this included the reserves at Arthur's Pass and Fiordland. The formation of Egmont National Park in 1900,

however, differs somewhat from the norm as it was reserved to protect valuable Taranaki farmland from flooding (Devlin, 1995, p. 9; Dingwall, 1994, p. 233).

Roche (1984, p. 73) states that from the 1920's until around the start of the 1950's New Zealand's natural protected areas system entered a maintenance phase where the focus was upon preserving existing reserves. This philosophy changed with the introduction of the National Parks Act 1952, which served to integrate the administration of national parks and reserves and also tidy up associated legislation. Since the passing of the National Parks Act 1952 the emphasis has been upon managing existing areas and acquiring a wider representation of New Zealand's natural areas. The result of this approach saw the establishment of six new national parks between 1953 and 1964 (Devlin, 1995, p. 10; Dingwall, 1994, p. 233; Devlin, 1993, p. 88).

3.3.1 The modern conservation era post 1987

New Zealand's conservation estate currently includes about 30 percent of the country's total land area, with holdings spread throughout the country. Much of the land contained within the conservation estate extends through tribal rohe (boundaries) and includes areas of great cultural and spiritual significance to individual iwi. By managing these lands, the Department of Conservation (DOC) has the potential to affect the capacity of tangata whenua to express their relationship to the land in either a positive or detrimental manner. The question is how does the status of different national

protected areas, such as national parks or forest parks, influence Maori cultural attachments to land? Attempts to address and provide for these cultural attachments by bodies administering the conservation estate coupled with land claims over certain holdings, have made for a tenuous relationship between the Department of Conservation and tangata whenua. There are many issues that illustrate where Maori and DOC have conflicts of interest. These include such things as 1080 poison aerial drops for wild animal control, customary harvest, the quality of consultation by DOC, protection of waahi tapu and the use of lands administered by DOC to settle Treaty claims (Mutu, 1995, p. 3).

New Zealand's current conservation practices revolve around the Conservation Act 1987 and the reforms it brought to conservation administration. These reforms were centred on the establishment of the Department of Conservation whose purpose it was to take over the responsibility for managing the public conservation estate. The Conservation Law Reform Act 1990 also brought with it a new regime for conservation management planning for the Department (figure 3.3). The Conservation Act 1987 was amended under this new planning structure to require the preparation of broad regionally based planning documents called Conservation Management Strategies (CMS) as well as Conservation Management Plans (CMP) for specific locations of high use such as national parks. In terms of Maori the preparation of these Conservation Management Strategies ensured Maori participation on Treaty and tangata whenua issues. For tangata whenua the policies and strategies set down in the CMS had the

added protection of being legally binding for the Department. McClean and Smith (2001) address the relevance of this reform for Maori:

The key to post 1990 reform is the status of Maori interest within this new legislation and the relationship between the DOC duty to give effect to section (4) and the provision of the acts in the first schedule of the Conservation Act (McClean & Smith, 2001, p. 281).

However, despite post 1990 reform, it has been claimed by a number of iwi that they are still dissatisfied with their relationship with the Department. Much of this enmity stems from the perception that the Department has continually ignored its responsibility to Maori under the Conservation Act 1987. The Act provided for the recognition of the rights and traditions of Maori through section (4) of the Conservation Act. This section states that: "*the act shall be interpreted and administered as to give effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi*"¹⁰. This Section is currently interpreted by DOC as recognising the mana and tangata whenua status of iwi whose tribal boundaries overlap conservation lands, and actively involving the Treaty of Waitangi in the protection of their taonga (Department of Conservation, 2000, p. 37).

¹⁰ For a definition of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi see appendix 8.4.

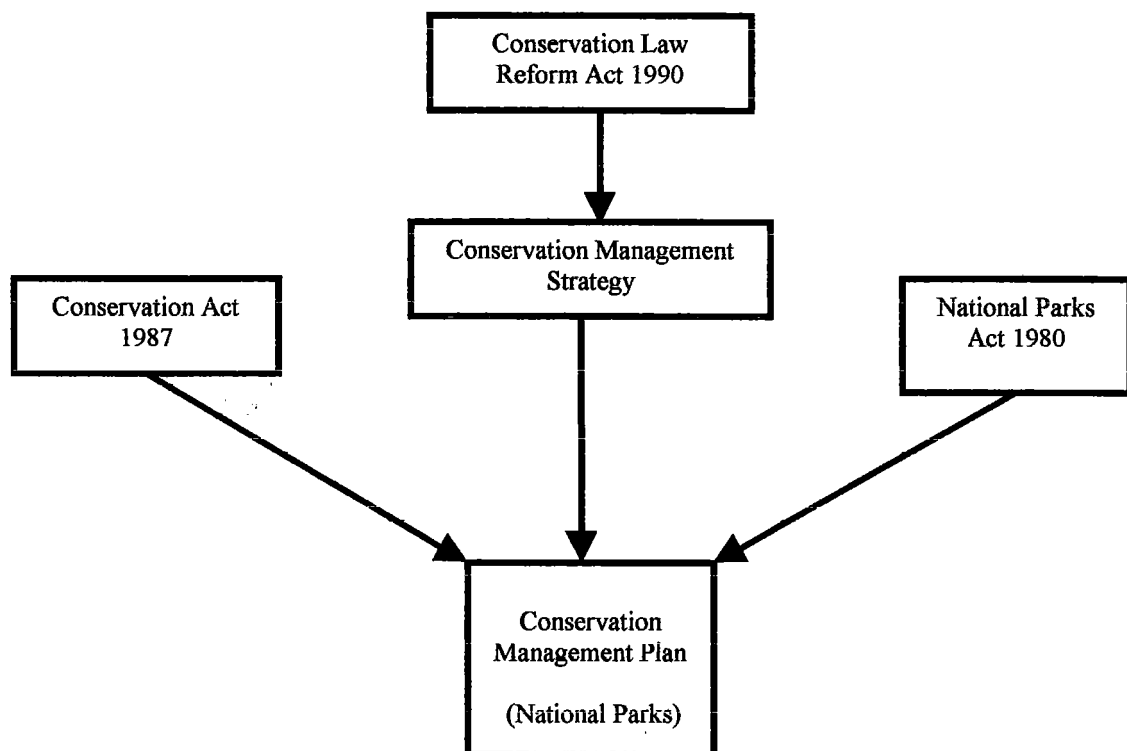


Figure 3.3. Department of Conservation Planning Structure Overview. *

In the planning of any departmental document there are many acts that need to be taken into account, such as the Resource Management Act 1991. At specific sites such as National Parks there may be site specific legislation that needs to be taken into account. eg. Egmont Vesting Act 1978.

As an example of this post 1990 reform the Conservation Management Strategy for Otago acknowledges there is a diverse range of natural features within the Otago Conservancy, which have a special place within the traditions and histories of Ngai Tahu Whanui. To take into account its responsibilities under section (4), and to recognise the significance of certain landscapes and sites to tangata whenua, the CMS for Otago incorporates a range of protocols, statements and policies to address the Department's obligation to Maori. The policies and statements contained within the CMS include a number of broad overarching regional goals for the Department as

well as specific goals relating to sites of special significance (DOC, Otago CMS, 1998).

3.3.2 Maori / DOC relationship

A report produced in 1998 by Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Maori Development) investigated the nature of the relationship between Maori and DOC. The majority of the findings contained within the report suggested that, historically, Maori have had a great deal of dissatisfaction and frustration in their dealings with the Department. However, it was also noted that, over time, there was a feeling that the relationship had improved:

While some of the comments may seem unduly negative, I take heart from the fact that the Department's performance is perceived to be improving, and that the relationships with staff in the field and with Kaupapa Atawhai are widely viewed as positive (Director-General DOC, Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 5).

A pervasive theme of the report was the view that the Department was not meeting iwi expectations in implementing section (4) of the Conservation Act 1987. This arose because of different interpretations between iwi and the Department, of what "giving effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" entailed (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 13). The statutory obligation contained within section (4) implied a greater expectation amongst iwi for their

involvement in land management issues within their respective rohe (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 25).

For a range of reasons Ngai Tahu are justified in their present deep suspicion of the Conservation Act and the RMA [Resource Management Act]. That reservation is founded on the difficulty of securing tangible performance on the Treaty clause of the former and the vague and fragile nature of treaty protection afforded by the latter (O'Regan cited in Kai Tahu ki Otago, 1998, p. v).

The significance of section (4) and its importance to Maori was illustrated in 1995 when Ngai Tahu took DOC to court over their belief that the Department had failed to meet its section (4) responsibilities. The Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board brought this action against the Department because it believed that there had previously been a view within the Department that section (4) did not apply to the first schedule of the Conservation Act. The findings of the court in the "whale watch case" determined that section (4) did apply to the acts under the first schedule.

From a Maori point of view that was a pretty important breakthrough, it turned back this line that was developing, that section (4) only applied purely to the Conservation Act and not to the Marine Reserves Act, the National Parks Act or the Wildlife Act (Mat Ellison, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Otago Conservancy, August 2002).

To date, the main area of contention in the relationship between Maori and DOC surrounds Treaty rights and ownership issues relating to land. The Maori view regarding treaty claims and questions of land is quite straightforward. Delmare illustrates this by stating that: "stolen land still in the possession of that person who stole it—the Crown—should be returned without question, without condition and without cost" (Tuariki Delamare cited in Baranao, 1998, July 29, p. 2). Currently a large percentage of the protected natural areas in New Zealand under Crown ownership is under some sort of claim by Maori to the Waitangi Tribunal or the Treaty Settlement Office. However, since the settlement of the Ngai Tahu claim in 1998 only 35 per cent of the public conservation estate still remains under claim to the Waitangi Tribunal by individual iwi (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 22).

The formation and administration of New Zealand's National Parks, especially those in the North Island, have had a chequered history in terms of the relationship between the Department and iwi. For example, the Taranaki area is a region that has had a long history of conflict between Maori and Pakeha, and the development of conservation in this area is no different. Egmont National Park was created almost entirely (95%) from confiscated Maori land. Only after sustained protest and an outpouring of public support in the 1970's was the mountain symbolically returned to tangata whenua under the Egmont Vesting Act (1978). Also, during the 1980's an intense local debate raged over the name of the mountain, finally compromising in a dual placename status for Taranaki/Mt Egmont (Department of Conservation, 2000, pp. 17-18).

Other North Island National Parks like Te Urewera have also had a chequered history in terms of tangata whenua relations with the Crown over conservation land. According to Park (2001, p. 354) the gazetting of Te Urewera National Park in 1954 was the culmination of a long succession of attempts by the Crown to control Tuhoe resource rights to the Maori owned indigenous forests from which the park was formed. Despite opposition from Tuhoe, the Government acquired Maori land for scenic purposes and legislated to prevent certain activities taking place on the remaining land it could not procure. Due to these actions, substantial areas of the park are currently before the Waitangi Tribunal because Tuhoe are disputing the legality of the means by which the Crown acquired the land (Department of Conservation, 2001b, p. 1).

There are many other examples of the widely reported conflict between DOC and iwi throughout the country. Specific examples of these include such things as the occupation of conservation land by Maori protest groups. In 1997 a Tuhoe protest group, Nga Tamariki a Te Kohu (children of the mist) occupied conservation land in Te Urewera National Park for seven weeks over concerns it had about DOC management in the area (The Evening Post, 2000; Howard, 1998, p. 2; Barnao, 1998). In the Far North, at Te Rerenga (the leaping place), tourism activities caused conflict between tangata whenua and DOC in a place sacred to all Maori. For Maori, Te Rerenga symbolises the place where the spirits of the departed go to leave the earth. The site and its tourist facilities have often been a source of tension between Ngati Kuri

and the Government. Calls by local Maori for the return of land have been met with the reclassification of 75 hectares of land at the tip of the Cape as a historic reserve, thereby, recognising the significance of the area and prohibiting commercial activity (Waikato Times, 1998, p. 2).

3.3.3 Waahi Tapu and Waahi Taonga

For iwi many parts of the conservation estate are closely associated with human occupation and culture. As such they carry a range of spiritual and cultural values. According to the Kai Tahu ki Otago Management Plan (1998, p. 93), sites that are considered to be waahi tapu refer to places or features that have special significance to iwi, hapu or whanau. By comparison things that are considered to be waahi taonga refer to resources that are important to iwi, hapu or whanau. Separate iwi have felt that a major limitation of the management of these lands, and of waahi tapu and waahi taonga, by the Department is due to a general lack of understanding of Maori perspectives and beliefs in regard to waahi taonga and waahi tapu. The following extract from a report issued by the Department in 2001 highlights this issue: "a lack of understanding or knowledge, and the paternalistic attitude of some DOC staff, presents a barrier to improving relationships between DOC and iwi, effective consultation and involvement of Maori in conservation management (DOC, 2001c, p. 3).

In order to help address this lack of understanding or knowledge within the Department regarding taha Maori, Kaupapa Atawhai Managers¹¹ have developed pukenga atawhai, a training programme that allows DOC staff the opportunity to look through a window into the Maori world. The training programme is centred on marae-based training and looks at beliefs and values from a Maori perspective. This national training system covers a series of modules from stories of creation through to the Treaty, and covers other aspects of Maori culture such as going onto marae or organising a hui (Mat Ellison, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Otago, Aug 2002; Hemi Te Rakau, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, West Coast, Aug 2002).

In terms of waahi tapu, iwi have consistently pointed to the difficulty that they have had trying to protect sacred sites from molestation. The problem has been further exacerbated where iwi do not have control or ownership over land. Iwi have viewed with some concern the management of waahi tapu sites on land administered by the Department. In a report delivered by Te Puni Kokiri (1998, pp. 38-40), iwi, in reference to waahi tapu sites, claimed that actions carried out by the department were offensive and often unnecessary on several occasions.

For example, within Ngati Tuwharetoa's tribal boundaries there have been issues raised with DOC over waahi tapu areas and the current Conservation Management Strategy employed by the Department. These

¹¹ Kaupapa Atawhai Managers are the key interface between iwi and the Department. They report directly to the conservator and represent and support the conservator and staff in relations with iwi. Their role is to facilitate communication between the Department and iwi, and to provide advice and training to staff for this purpose. See section 3.3.7 for more.

issues included such things as DOC's plans for using bulldozers on top of Mount Ruapehu (The Press, 23 Oct. 1998, p. 9) and plans to excavate a waahi tapu site in the Kaimanawa Ranges (Waikato Times, May 13 1996, p. 2). Ngati Tuwharetoa have also expressed concern over the strategies employed by DOC for protecting sacred sites, and as a result lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal (The Evening Post, Sept. 25 1995, p. 3). Other examples of departmental transgressions cited by iwi included the development of walking tracks through waahi tapu areas. However, in several cases arrangements were entered into between the Department and Maori to protect waahi tapu, including such things as the inclusion of an iwi logo on walking track signs to denote areas of cultural sensitivity (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 39).

3.3.4 Cultural Materials

The Te Puni Kokiri report (1998, p. 28) also indicated other issues iwi had with the Department which included consultation, management, access and the customary use of native plants and wildlife. In terms of access to customary resources such as native timber and whalebone, Maori see the access to these resources as a Treaty right and also as a means of preserving aspects of Maoritanga (Maori culture) such as whakairo (carving).

Links with nga tupuna are extremely important in a society where identity is based in tribal or family structures. Traditional uses for natural resources – foods, weaving materials, carved timber,

implements and musical instruments, and special taonga such as bone carvings or carved walking sticks – help to sustain the relationships with ancestors by continuing the patterns of their experience (NZCA, 1997, p. 95).

Dingwall (1994, p. 239) suggests that since the 1990's increased recognition has been given to the rights of Maori for access to cultural materials by way of legislative exemptions that are made to favour traditional rights. For example, within three conservancies (Taupo/Tongariro, Canterbury and East Coast) applications for materials for cultural use are referred to the relevant iwi, runanga, trust, hapu or whanau for their recommendation and advice. The type of approach being employed by the Department within these conservancies incorporates aspects of manawhenua and actively involves kaitiaki groups in the management of these resources (NZCA, 1997, p. 32).

Within Ngai Tahu's rohe there have been advances in the management of cultural materials with DOC implementing a 'cultural banks' system within the West Coast Conservancy. As the Department is perceived to be the guardian of the natural environment, it often receives materials such as dead birds that are found by members of the general public. These cultural banks or repositories of cultural materials were set up to make use of the materials that were brought in. On the West Coast the Department has built up a database, which records every bird that comes in, where and when it was found, virtually putting a whakapapa (genealogy) onto every feather. The distribution of the contents of the cultural banks is then left to the papatipu

runanga¹². The significance of this kind of programme is outlined in the following statement from Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Hemi Te Rakau:

The database is electronic and in the end we can give it to anyone on a disc and say here is a whakapapa of all the birds that have come through here in the last 15 years and where they've gone. So when someone stands up at Nga Puhi with this fantastic cloak on their back you can say "kia ora, he te mana o Ngai Tahu" you know those feathers on your back they came from the Poison River in South Westland. It's the whakamana of the taonga (Hemi Te Rakau, Aug 2002).

3.3.5 Consultation

A major stumbling block for many individual iwi and hapu in their relationship with DOC concerns the level of their consultation with the Department. Currently, there is a range of views put forward by individual iwi regarding the present level of consultation they experience with DOC. Some iwi are very happy with the quality of the relationship, while others claim to have almost no working relationship with DOC. However, the majority of tribal groups fall somewhere in the middle of this spectrum (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 28). Consultation has the ability to become the cornerstone for a positive relationship with iwi and a large part of this revolves around consulting with the appropriate body. On certain issues this means approaching hapu as well

¹² Papatipu Runanga are regional collective bodies who operate with their own autonomy under the larger umbrella of Ngai Tahu Whanui.

as iwi. However, some tribal groups perceive DOC as having an inflexible attitude towards conservation. For example, in the Chatham Islands, iwi and the general public were furious about the lack of consultation over the transfer of conservation management from Canterbury to Wellington. This move consequently disrupted ten years of work with the Canterbury conservancy over a range of issues. The following extract outlines the feeling that was typical within the Chatham Islands at the time: "we were not consulted in time, the subsequent feeble level of consultation, not surprisingly, made no impact on a decision which seems already to have been made" (Riddell, 9 Jul. 1997, p. 5). DOC is well aware of the criticism that they have received over the levels of consultation they employ. In a document released in 2001 DOC acknowledged this criticism by stating that: "consultation by DOC has generally fallen short of Maori expectations. The key criticisms are that DOC has failed to be proactive or consistent in their approach to consultation" (DOC, 2001c, p. 3).

Consultation with iwi still remains a large problem in many parts of the country. Recently, within Ngai Tahu Whanui tribal boundaries, local iwi were at odds with DOC over a decision to drop 1080 in the Hokonui Ranges. Issues were raised over the possibility that poison could leech into waterways. However, the drop proceeded despite protests from Maori and other environmental groups (Davidson, 26 May 2001 p.10; 14 June 2001, p. 3; 7 June, 2001, p. 10). In contrast, Hemi Te Rakau (Aug 2002) points out that legislation and cabinet oblige the Department, to carry out weed and pest control. The methods used are primarily a result of budget constraints and

what is practical. While the use of 1080 by the Department draws a lot of bad press because of its high profile; Hemi points to the fact that the positive aspects of exercises such as ground trapping over large areas of Arthur's Pass National Park are relatively ignored.

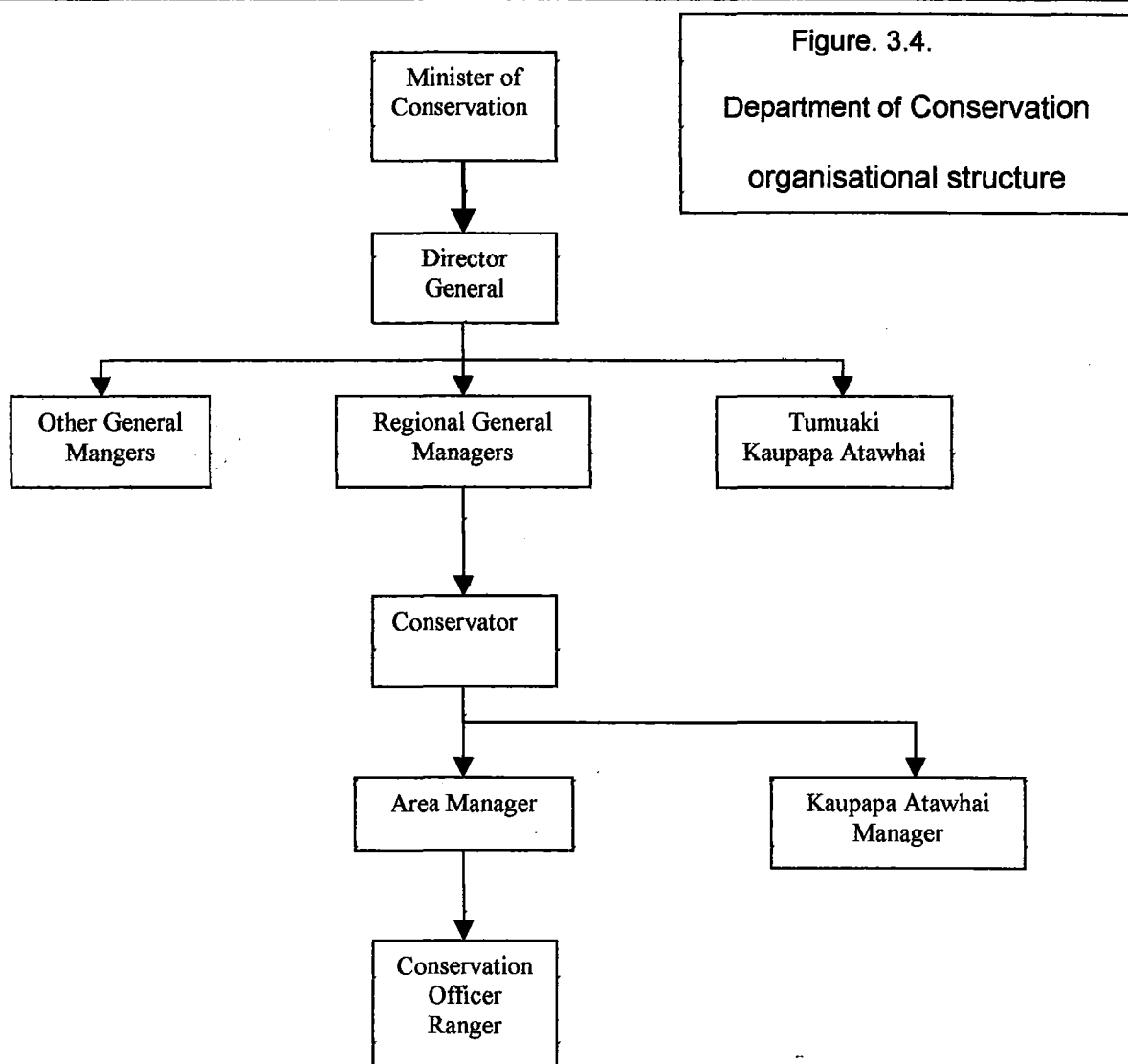
As tangata whenua, local tribes see it as a Treaty right to act as kaitiaki (guardians) over taonga within their rohe. It is only if adequate levels of communication and consultation are available that iwi can voice their concern on issues affecting their traditional ancestral lands and taonga. At a Hui (gathering) in 1995 at Hokitika the need to consult with appropriate tribal bodies was addressed by Poutini Ngai Tahu: "It is important for DOC to consult with Poutini Ngai Tahu [West Coast Ngai Tahu] not Ngai Tahu [iwi] and to consult with each individual whanau so that all are included not just Papatipu Runanga" (DOC, 1995, p. 17)

A greater level of consultation within all of the conservancies would also have the added benefit of increasing the understanding of Maori concepts by departmental staff (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 14). Another spin-off that could accrue through adequately including Maori early in the planning phase, would be the avoidance of time and resource wasting litigation (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p.33).

3.3.6 Maori and the staff structure of DOC

Besides experiencing a range of differences in the quality of their relationship with DOC, Maori also noted differences in the relationships they experienced at various levels within the Departmental structure (figure. 3.4). Most iwi generally felt that they had a good relationship with field staff, where people could physically see the contributions Maori were making to conservation. Problems occurred around more formal aspects of planning and management, especially at the higher echelons within the Department. There was a general feeling from Maori that the higher up the organisational structure, the more decisions were made upon political factors rather than upon practical considerations (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 28). The Te Puni Kokiri (1998) report and a report on the New Zealand Conservation Authority (NZCA (1995)); both hinted at problems iwi were having with the Department's senior management and with iwi involvement in policy and planning:

Attention was often drawn (by iwi) to the development of the CMS as a major example of a limited consultation approach which was considered to be far too late and not well resourced, where input from iwi and hapu was perceived to be largely ignored (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 30).



In-house restructuring within the Department during 1989 saw the creation of the Kaupapa Atawhai position within the regional structure. The purpose of the position was twofold. First, it was to identify Maori interests in natural and historic resources. Second, the position sought to identify Maori conservation principles and practices for the possibility of incorporating them into conservation management (DOC, 2000, p. 38; Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 21). In a report delivered to the Minister of Maori Affairs in 1995 concerning the NZCA, Mutu (1995, p. 3) noted that the Kaupapa Atawhai position within

the Department was under-resourced at a regional level, while at head office the position was relatively ignored.

The Kaupapa Atawhai managers are also grossly under-resourced at conservancy level...expected to deal with not only providing advice on and facilitating DOC staff relationship with tangata whenua, conveying DOC policy to Maori and Maori views to DOC, but also generally solving any and all problems that arise between DOC and Maori (Mutu, 1995, p. 3).

The Kaupapa Atawhai Division often finds itself excluded from iwi related issues at Head Office level, or its advice ignored (Mutu, 1995, p. 3).

Since its establishment in 1989 the status of the Kaupapa Atawhai Managers position within the DOC structure has changed dramatically. In its first few years of operation within the Otago Conservancy, the position moved from two-days per week to full-time within a year. In its early years the position can be viewed as nothing more than a gesture by the Department to ensure that planning documents had some kind of Maori flavour, as well as ensuring that Maori had somebody with whom to liaise. However, over the last 14 years the position has grown to reflect the changing attitudes of the Department, to its' current status of importance within DOC, which is a reflection of the Department's current commitment to Maori.

I've seen it come of age [Kaupapa Atawhai position]. It used to be Hemi can you tag a brown piece on this, or would you look through this and see where the brown bits are. It was that kind of attitude to the letter. Now people are automatically thinking about the accountability factor, you know the first thing we have to do is consultation (Hemi Te Rakau, Aug 2002).

I think it started out more as a liaison position, and that was organising meetings, talking to runanga, Kai Tahu people or the Maori community. We also interact with the wider Maori community and generate Maori interest in conservation generally. So there was a lot of that, the role focus changed post 1998 with the large restructuring we undertook to assisting managers and staff, in their relationships with tangata whenua. So instead of becoming essentially the link going back and forward, I stepped back and allowed these people to build their relationships (Mat Ellison, Aug 2002).

Further restructuring in 1997 saw the reconfiguration of Head Office and the regional office structure for the Department of Conservation. Key features of the new structure included the establishment of the Tumuaki Kaupapa Atawhai position, a Treaty Settlements Unit and an Iwi Relations Manager. The focus of the newly appointed Iwi Relations Manager was to maintain the Department's relationship with Maori on national issues and provide advice to Head Office staff on conservation issues of interest to iwi. The newly appointed Tumuaki Kaupapa Atawhai position was created to

provide support to the director-general, and has specific responsibility for strategic development and overseeing the implementation of another of the restructuring key features, the Department's Kaupapa Atawhai Strategy. The Kaupapa Atawhai Strategy was designed to set out departmental processes to ensure more effective participation and contribution by Maori in conservation outcomes.

In terms of management, Maori have expressed concern over the ability of the Department to effectively manage all of the lands under its' control. In some cases Maori believe that iwi could better manage low priority conservation land. Maori are of the general belief that legislative policy and context based barriers serve to limit the effectiveness of the Department in its service delivery to Maori. From a Maori point of view this lack of effectiveness stems from the Department not recognising their status as an equal partner under the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 12). Many Iwi would like to alleviate this perceived inequality by entering into some form of shared management of conservation lands, but this avenue is currently blocked by legislation (DOC, 1999a, pp. 34-35). Current legislation such as the National Parks Act 1980, has no provision for any kind of shared management arrangement.

3.3.7 Ngai Tahu and DOC

There are, however, a number of examples that point towards an increasingly positive relationship between Maori and the Department. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the South Island.

Two stakeholder groups - both in the South Island – had excellent relationships, with a high degree of co-operation and communication between Maori stakeholders and the Department (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 28).

The growth of this relationship has been illustrated by events such as the cooperation of Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, Fish and Game, and the Department of Conservation, over concerns about freshwater management and the lack of wetland protection in the Canterbury Region (Rowell, 12 April 2002). Another example of this evolving relationship can be found at Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park where DOC has discouraged the spreading of human ashes over the park out of respect to Ngai Tahu Whanui. This was in response to concern being voiced over the effect the practice could have over the sacred melt waters of the mountain (Markby, 29 Sept. 2001).

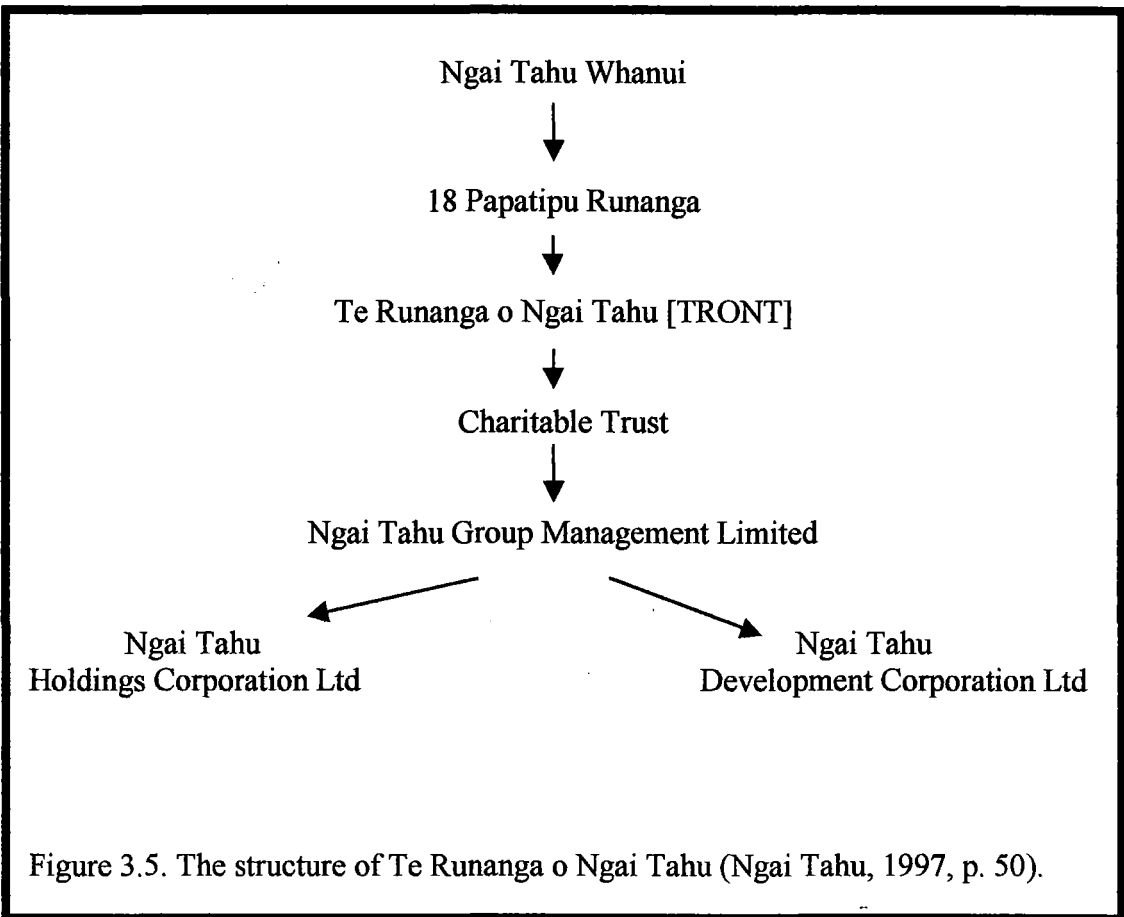
The question is “why is the relationship between the Department and Ngai Tahu in the South Island perceived to be better than that experienced by their Maori counterparts in the North Island”? Perhaps it is because the Department is dealing with one iwi, Ngai Tahu, making it easier to identify who

has manawhenua and kaitiakitanga in respect to specific areas. Aside from this Ngai Tahu has also split itself into two bodies. A corporate arm of the tribe Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu (TRONT) to deal with corporate business; and the traditional arm (Papatipu Runanga) to maintain the traditional values of the tribe (Figure 3.5). The 18 Papatipu Runanga of Ngai Tahu Whanui are traditional regional marae-based communities whose representatives guide the direction of the tribe. The corporate direction of the tribe is then pursued through Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu's two operational arms: the Ngai Tahu Holdings Corporation Ltd; and the Ngai Tahu Development Corporation Ltd.

You've got the 21st century commerce which is actually the blood lifeline of the tribe [TRONT] and you've got the timeless side of the tribe [Papatipu Runanga] which is the one that is underpinning and controlling it all (Hemi Te Rakau, Aug 2002).

The creation of TRONT in 1996 through the Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act created a legal status for the Ngai Tahu Whanui. TRONT provide the Ngai Tahu Whanui with a legal structure through which the Crown could consult with the iwi over settlement matters. Previously bodies such as the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board represented the iwi but had no true legal identity, being accountable to the Crown; not to the iwi they represented. The power of the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board was so circumspect that the Board was unable to spend more than \$200, without first obtaining Ministerial approval (Huria, 1996, p. 5). O'Regan (1984b) states that the purpose of these newly proposed legal iwi identities was to "provide a practical entity with which treaty

settlements can be made and with which Maori can reasonably organise themselves" (O'Regan, 1984b, p. 93).



The North Island, by contrast, has the same problems that are faced by Ngai Tahu but on a larger scale. Unlike the single tribal body that covers the majority of the South Island, there are multiple iwi groupings in the North Island. So within any given conservancy in the North Island there are issues of manawhenua and kaitiakitanga that flow across tribal rohe, not to mention inter-hapu and inter-whanau issues to be addressed. The sheer scope of individuals and groups in the North Island with a shared interest in conservation from a departmental viewpoint means more meetings, more

kaitiaki, more of everything including time (Hemi Te Rakau, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, West Coast, Aug 2002).

Another important contrast between Ngai Tahu and Northern iwi is that the Ngai Tahu Whanui claim to the Waitangi Tribunal has already reached a resolution, whereas most tribes in the North Island are still in the process of negotiating settlements. For Ngai Tahu Whanui, the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act has seen the intensification of the relationship between the Department and the tribe. The settlement agreement had the effect of "jump starting" the Department in certain areas as the settlement agreement carries very precise responsibilities which the Department must meet. According to the Kaupapa Atawhai Managers (Mat Ellison, Hemi Te Rakau, Aug 2002); in both Otago and the West Coast the settlement has been the driving force in the evolving relationship between the Department and Ngai Tahu because the legislation has forced a number of changes upon the Department.

We used to say this is waahi tapu. As a culturally significant site people can't go in there. Some people would say "o yeah, it's all fairy stories". But now because it is written into statute and literally surveyed onto the land in a pakeha sense then it's there and expected" (Hemi Te Rakau, Aug 2002).

The settlements made it a lot easier, prior to that it was Mat Ellison trying to advocate all the interpretation of what section four meant. The settlement provided a prescription or a menu of things that people

knew they had to do, and so it's paved the way or jump-started it really. It started a greater development of what section four is about (Mat Ellison, Aug 2002).

The Ngai Tahu claim encompassed a lot of new mechanisms that are deemed to have been successful. For example, the provisions of the settlement agreement called for direct consultation and participation of Ngai Tahu with the Department at all levels. This positive relationship was also attributed to a proactive approach by tangata whenua; good support from the Kaupapa Atawhai managers; and a willingness by tangata whenua to be flexible and open-minded (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p. 28). The Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 also brought with it a number of new legislative mechanisms that need to be considered in the context of Maori land relationships and the Department of Conservation. These mechanisms were created to recognise the mana of Ngai Tahu in relation to a number of sites. The function of these new mechanisms including statutory acknowledgment, Deeds of Recognition, Topuni and Dual Place Names is discussed below.

Sites that have been designated for statutory acknowledgment require local councils to recognise and provide for the relationship of Ngai Tahu Whanui with their lands, waters and other taonga. The Statutory Acknowledgment of sites means that these locations have to be included in district and regional plans, therefore showing the significance of these areas to people applying for resource consents in the region. Councils are also required to inform Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu of any resource applications

affecting these areas (Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 33). The purpose of these statutory acknowledgments is to “significantly enhance Ngai Tahu’s ability to realise the full potential which the RMA (Resource Management Act 1991) offers as a tool for incorporating Maori values into the management of the environment” (Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 33).

Areas that have been designated for Statutory Acknowledgment are also designated for Deeds of Recognition. These deeds of recognition enable Ngai Tahu to have input into the Crown agencies administering these sites. This mechanism requires the crown agency to take into account Ngai Tahu’s historical, spiritual, cultural and traditional relationship with various sites (Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 33-4).

The third of these new mechanisms, Topuni, is a tool for recognising Ngai Tahu values for specific sites managed by the Department of Conservation. Each Topuni includes a statement of Ngai Tahu values in relation to the site, a set of principles relating to that area and specific actions which the Department of Conservation must undertake to uphold these principles (Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 35).

Topuni will provide very public symbols of Ngai Tahu mana and rangatiratanga over some of the most prominent features and conservation areas in Te Wai Pounamu (Ngai Tahu, 1998, p.35).

The last of the new legislative mechanisms, dual placenames, will also reinforce Ngai Tahu's relationship with certain sites and features in the environment. The dual placenames will serve as physical reminders of Ngai Tahu history in the South Island. As a direct result of the settlement, 88 placenames within the South Island have received dual placename status. This means that current placenames will be changed to joint English/Maori names, with the only exception being Aoraki/Mount Cook, where the Maori name comes first (Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 37). This list of placenames represents only a fraction of the traditional placenames that covered the South Island. It is my belief that this list of 88 placenames only represents a starting point, and in time this list will be added to, re-establishing the traditional geographies of Ngai Tahu Whanui. According to Russell (2000, p. 44-5) amongst Ngai Tahu Whanui there has been considerable debate surrounding the selection of these placenames. Russell contends that in the eyes of some, the selection of placenames had more to do with time constraints, 'mana munching' and personal knowledge rather than being based on the collective knowledge of how certain areas of the landscape came to have particular stories associated with them.

The evolution of the Department's relationship with Ngai Tahu Whanui, and the impact of these new legislative mechanisms, can be seen in the investigation into New Zealand's 14th and newest National Park, Rakiura. As a result of the provisions contained within the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 and their responsibilities under section (4) of the Conservation Act 1987, tangata whenua enjoyed a high level of consultation into the establishment of

Rakiura National Park. The consultation process consisted of a series of meetings and hui (gatherings). These discussions involved DOC, Te Rununga o Ngai Tahu and local tangata whenua with a vested interest in the land. This included Te Runaka o Awarua, Te Runaka o Waihopi, Oraka/Aparia Runaka, Hokonui Runaka and Rakiura Runaka (DOC, 1999a, p. 15).

The main issues addressed in the consultation period with tangata whenua surrounded the resolution of boundary disputes and other matters relating to ownership and waahi tapu areas. Special provision was also made to ensure Ngai Tahu Whanui's connection with certain landmarks within park boundaries. Examples of areas of significance to Ngai Tahu Whanui contained within the investigation area included Hananui (Mt Anglem), Kai Aroha Kei (Old Neck) and Putatora Pa. Kai Aroha Kei and Hananui are amongst the most treasured of Rakiura Maori sites on the island. Kai Aroha Kei is a sand isthmus from where the chief Te Wera was based. The name given to the site refers to "Te Wera's fright" after an encounter he had with a sea-lion (DOC, 1999b, p. 11). Hananui also takes its name from an ancestral chief, Rakitama. As the story goes, Rakitama journeyed to Rakiura (Stewart Island) to seek the hand of a tribally renowned woman. However, he found her already betrothed. It is said that he then asked after her sister and found her spoken for as well. At this point he was said to have blushed deeply. Hananui, the highest point on the island, is named after the "great glow of Rakitama" (DOC, 1999a, p. 11). The reserving of Mt Anglem/Hananui as a Topuni site is an example of how the Department is providing recognition of Ngai Tahu Whanui's relationship to the landscape. Mt Anglem/Hananui has

been designated as a Topuni site because of its particular cultural, spiritual, historic and traditional associations for Ngai Tahu. Mt Anglem/Hananui under the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act is also designated for Statutory Acknowledgment, and is part of the Deed of Recognition. Mt Anglem/Hananui is also an example of how traditional geographies are being re-established through the use of dual placenames (DOC, 1999a, pp. 2-3).

3.3.8 Third Parties

There is also the need to be aware that the policies, decisions and conflicts that shape the relationship between Maori and DOC, also have the ability to impact upon third parties. For a large proportion of the general public, the apparent absence of Maori from national parks masks the significant relationship that Maori have with the natural environment rather than the national park (Devlin, 1995; Lomax, 1988). The main area of concern for these third-party groups is the impact of conservation lands being used for settling Treaty claims and the implications of this for public access (Woodfield, 1998b, pp. 10-11; Forest and Bird, 1994, pp. 14-21). Examples of third-party interests in the conservation estate include the debate that has ensued over a statement calling for climbers on Aoraki/Mt Cook to stop short of the summit. According to former Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Mika Mason, Aoraki/Mt Cook is viewed as an ancestor, to stand on the head of this ancestor is in violation of tapu (Mason cited in Howard, 1998, May, p. 3; Jordan, 1998, pp.15-17; Woodfield, 1998a, p. 15; Woodfield, 1998b, pp. 10-11). Bruce Mason, of "Public Access New Zealand", addresses his groups concerns stating that:

National Parks are there for the physical enjoyment and spiritual appreciation of everyone. If Ngai Tahu has the ability to dictate that DOC regulate use to satisfy the wishes of one party, that goes against what a national park is ... This is the forerunner to the government's plans to water down the public aspect of national parks and establish overlaying private interests (Woodfield, 1998b, 10).

However, Tipene O'Regan of Ngai Tahu believes that these third party groups are over-exaggerating the "threat" that Maori pose to the public enjoyment of the conservation estate. O'Regan claims that "conservationists are distorting the claims and aspirations that Maori have in relation to the conservation estate" (O' Regan, 1994, pp. 18-19). One such example was seen in 1992 when it was reported in a meeting of a Conservation Board, that Ngai Tahu wanted direct ownership and control of landmarks such as Aoraki/Mt Cook. Despite assurances from Ngai Tahu that this was not in fact what they wanted, the media sensationally reported these ideas. The front page of the Dominion (21 July, 1992, p. 1) carried headlines that read, "Worries over Maori bid to control park". Stories such as this created a backlash from pakeha society and recreational groups like Federated Mountain Clubs, against these contrived threats to their enjoyment of national parks.

In light of such negative publicity, Ngai Tahu Whanui has continually stated in its drive for joint title to certain lands managed by the Department, that it in no way wants to alter the use and benefit of these lands to all New

Zealanders. The iwi rather, seeks a reflection of their cultural relationships with these landscapes (Te Karaka, 1996, p. 22). While the prospect of joint management of conservation lands is currently blocked by legislation, the concept has received a good deal of support, even from within the Department. In 1996, the then Director-General of the Department, Bill Piddington, agreed that, "joint title is a valid concept and that there was no reason why the Crown alone had to own or even administer such Conservation land" (Te Karaka, 1996, p. 22).

3.3.9 Maori and the evolution of National Park Planning documents

Another way of evaluating the Maori/DOC relationship can be seen through the emergence of a greater emphasis on Maori tradition in National Park management planning. According to Park (2001, p. 339) until the 1980's there was no apparent regard for Maori, or for the recognition of Treaty responsibilities by the Crown, in its legislation and administration of National Parks. The enactment of the National Parks Act 1980 restructured National Park administration and legislation but did not include significant references to Maori. The earlier Reserves Act 1977, unlike the National Parks Act 1980, did carry specific references to Maori rights. The Reserves Act 1977, through section 46 (1) enabled Maori the right to kill or take birds as long as it did not contravene the Wildlife Act 1953.

National Park Management Plans during the early 1980's all but ignored dimensions of customary tribal use and of historical tribal associations within these regions. For example, Aoraki/Mt Cook National Park is an area that contains landmarks such as the mountain itself, which is of particular cultural significance to Ngai Tahu whanui. However, the 1981 National Park Management Plan for the park makes no reference to these landmarks or to the relationship that Ngai Tahu Whanui has with the area. The word Maori or any reference to Ngai Tahu does not appear anywhere within the text of the plan (Department of Lands and Survey, 1981).

The first substantial reference to Maori in National Park administration and legislation came in 1983 with the preparation of a general policy on National Parks. Certain sections from the document, regarding customary use indicated a move away from the traditional practice of making nil, minimal or obscure references to Maori.

Traditional uses of indigenous plants or animals by the Maori people for food or cultural purposes will be provided for in the management plan where such animals or plants are not protected under other legislation and demands are not excessive (General policy on National parks cited in Park, 2001, p. 351).

During the late 1980's and early 1990's planning documents prepared by the Department began to incorporate elements of Maori history and

tradition, although to a limited extent. Management Plans such as the one for Paparoa National Park were heralded as being forward thinking, despite some of the plans' management features being diluted.

I read it now and think wow, because everything we were pushing the limits on has now become common place or is not even adequate now. But that was a visionary document saying "where do we want to be" and "where should it be". Although some of the vision in there got toned down, like we weren't allowed to use the word treaty partner, because of the legal beavers of the time (Hemi Terakau, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, West Coast, August 2002).

Over the last few years in terms of recognition of Maori values in National Park Management Plans there have been major changes compared with the state of planning documents of the recent past. This change has been the product of several factors: a change in the Director General of DOC; a change in the attitude of the Department; and the imposition of protocols upon the Department through Treaty settlements. Increased consultation with iwi over the scope of planning documents is one area where the Department has improved dramatically. For example, during the drafting of the Management Plan for Mount Aspiring National Park 1992-3 the only consultation that took place with Ngai Tahu was with the Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board who were treated no differently from other members of the public. However, in the latest draft for Mount Aspiring National Park the Department

met separately with Ngai Tahu and also prior to the document being developed (Mat Ellison, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Otago, Aug 2002).

A reflection of this growing acknowledgment of the values and traditions of Maori is illustrated within the current draft management plan for Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park. The document contains comprehensive sections which deal with how the Department is to interact with, and actively protect, the interests of tangata whenua in their management of the park (DOC, 2001a). The following extracts from the 2001 draft exemplify this.

4.1.6(b) - To acknowledge the cultural, spiritual, historic and traditional association of Ngäi Tahu with their wähi tapu, wähi taonga and other places of historic significance, and give effect to the Department's Protocols with Ngäi Tahu for historic resources.

4.1.1(c) - The Department will consult with tākata whenua, and where required or appropriate, Te Rūnanga o Ngäi Tahu, from the early stages of proposed undertakings that will affect Ngäi Tahu values in relation to indigenous plants and animals. For all Deed of Settlement matters both tākata whenua and Te Rūnanga o Ngäi Tahu must be consulted. "Consult" includes all the relevant actions required of the Department under the provisions listed in policy 4.1.1(c).

3.6 Summary

This chapter has highlighted some of the central issues from the past and present that have followed from the historical disassociation of Ngai Tahu Whanui from their special and sacred 'places' and 'spaces' in the landscape. In 1840, Ngai Tahu Whanui along with other individual iwi signed a treaty with British colonial representatives, which emphasised the retention of their land and other prized possessions. However, changes in official policy, large-scale land purchases, the New Zealand Wars, the operation of the Native Land Court and court rulings concerning land all contributed to the loss of Maori land and therefore to the loss of part of their cultural identity. The tribal societies of Maori were also undermined through the destabilisation of traditional Maori geographies. This was achieved through the so-called 'discovery' and renaming of places by Europeans (Pawson, 1992, p. 23-24).

For South Island Maori, the impact of colonisation in conjunction with such historical events as the Kai Huanga feud and the armed campaigns of Te Rauparaha had dramatic consequences for Ngai Tahu Whanui. Already a small population to start with these events served to depopulate tribal territory. The events of the 1820s and 1830s severely constrained the ability of the tribe to later deal with breaches to the deeds of sale relating to several large-scale land purchases made between 1844 and 1864. Despite the tribe pursuing these grievances since 1849 the resolution of the Ngai Tahu claim was only made possible over the last two decades with the advent of the

Waitangi Tribunal. The establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal created a forum to hear Maori grievances relating to territorial and non- territorial rights.

The increased legal recognition of the Treaty and acknowledgment of the validity of Maori grievances through the Waitangi Tribunal has in many cases made the Department of Conservation a focal point in the relationship between Maori and the Crown. The conservation estate has assumed a high level of prominence for iwi in relation to treaty issues. This is in part because of the sheer size and distribution of conservation lands and their ability to provide for non-territorial rights. But of greater importance is the presence of 'places and spaces' within the conservation estate that contain significant examples of ancestral waahi tapu and waahi taonga. As the manager of this land, the Department of Conservation already has a responsibility to provide for these cultural attachments. There are many elements that need to be considered in the relationship between DOC and Maori. These include, but are not limited to such things as the management of waahi tapu and waahi taonga; cultural materials; consultation; the structure of DOC; and the outcome of Treaty settlements. Since it's establishment the department has under gone several changes that reflect the Department's commitment to recognise and provide for Maori values. This includes a greater emphasis towards Maori tradition and values in DOC planning documents; the introduction of new mechanisms and protocols through treaty settlements; and the development of the Kaupapa Atawhai Position. A crucial factor in this relationship is consultation as it creates a medium through which both parties

can begin to understand and comprehend each other's perspectives and interests in the conservation estate.

In a generation where the Treaty claims and land rights have come to prominence the importance of the conservation estate takes on new dimensions for Maori and Pakeha. For Maori the importance of the conservation estate lies in its natural resources and its ability for preserving the cultural and spiritual bonds Maori have with the landscape. As conservation lands will figure highly in Treaty claims, hopefully, the resolution of these claims will go someway towards reasserting manawhenua and tribal geographies over the landscape.

Chapter Four: Exploring the Maori Cultural Landscape

"Taku maunga karangaranga, taku maunga tipuna. Tenei au te tuohu nei.

Tu mai, tu mai, tu mai

I stand before you and know you are my elder. I stand before you and humility

bows my knee. My Mountain!

-Maori Proverb -

The focus of this chapter is to explore the relationship between Maori and the environment. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with Maori attitudes towards the environment and the meanings that the natural environment holds. It also deals with the role of mythology in reinforcing tribal identity and ties to land. The second section describes a way of assessing this relationship through the application of a variety of Maori concepts.

Over 200 years have past since the moment of initial contact between Maori and the first Europeans to set foot on New Zealand soil. Despite the passage of time issues still remain between Maori and Pakeha that plague New Zealand society. One of the issues affecting the relationship between Maori and Pakeha surrounds the misinterpretation, or the playing down of the importance of Maori language and custom. In most instances Maori have adopted, or at least have an awareness or understanding of Pakeha values, yet Maori values are still a mystery to the majority of Pakeha New Zealanders. This ignorance breeds misunderstanding and the misinterpretation of Maori custom. According to Walker (1990, p. 127) there remains a notion in New Zealand that we are one

people 'tauwiwi', claiming that people commonly ignore the fact that New Zealand contains two different peoples with two differing philosophies:

The notion that New Zealander's are 'one people' and the migration to town and cities have put the Maori under considerable pressure to assimilate with Pakeha society, but despite these pressures Maori have continued to maintain their own identity (Walker, 1990, p.127).

By examining those attitudes and perceptions that Maori hold towards whenua (land) it is possible to highlight the differences that occur between the two cultures.

4.1 Whenua

The type of relationships that Maori experience with the natural environment, while acknowledged, are not well understood by the majority of Pakeha New Zealanders. The relationship between Maori and the land is a complicated one revolving around a number of interconnected concepts. In dealing with issues of land involving iwi (tribe) one is confronted with culturally loaded concepts such as wairuangatanga (spiritual dimension) or kaitiakitanga (guardianship) whose meanings are only understood by Maori and a small number of Pakeha. It is imperative that Maori interests in land be understood in Maori terms. In essence this chapter can be viewed as a window for Pakeha into Maori culture.

Chapter One has described the links between the natural environment and cultural features using the geographical concepts of 'space', 'place' and a 'sense of place'. A geographical approach allows one to study how homogeneous cultural groups classify or conceptualise the geographic information contained within their landscape. Maori, for example, conceptualise land as more than just the physical dimensions of a place; land exists beyond its geographical and topographical boundaries. In contemporary and traditional Maori thought land is tied to ancestry, identity, belonging and permanence. This idea is illustrated by Asher and Naulls (1989, p. 81) who refer to land as being "the physical environment that embodies the historical and cultural values of the Maori, enhancing Maori identity and sense of belonging."

Perhaps the most important aspect of environmental/Maori relationships is the role land plays in establishing tribal identity. Land is important in establishing who the tangata whenua are and who has manawhenua (authority) over a particular area. In Maoridom, the term tangata whenua refers to those who are the people of the land (the locals). Tangata whenua are those who identify as belonging to a certain area and have authority over that area. Maori believe that they will only exist as a tribal entity as long as they retain their links to the land. This idea is further reinforced through the concepts of turangawaewae and whakapapa. If a person has no turangawaewae (understanding of their roots) or understanding of their whakapapa (genealogy), then they are not complete as a person (Terry Ryan, Ngai Tahu Whakapapa Unit, pers. com, 1997). In this sense

land can be seen as the foundation for individual, hapu and iwi identity and for spiritual well being.

The idea that Maori “owned” the land is only correct in the sense that their right to use it was recognised by others, their occupancy was unalienable so long as their turangawaewae and ahi ka were established. Ahi ka refers to rights of occupation (keeping the fires burning) and rights to land through lines of unbroken descent from their ancestors which was established through take tupuna (rights to land derived from ancestors). In the Maori view, regardless of who owns the land now, the mauri¹ (life essence) and the ancestral ties to the land still remain (Sinclair, 1992, pp. 66-69; Buck, 1949, pp. 380-381).

Yoon's (1986, pp. 47-62) study of traditional tribal pepeha (tribal saying) further stresses the importance of land within Maori culture. Pepeha can be considered as being the equivalent to a boast, particularly a tribal boast (Williams, 1971, p. 274), and could also allude to the deeds of tribal ancestors, tribal migrations, warfare and whakapapa (Potiki, 1998, p. 8). These tribal symbols of identification serve a variety of functions. Foremost they serve to define tribal territory and address ancestral heritage and spiritual ties to the land. Pepeha reflect the symbolic and practical aspects of traditional Maori culture in terms of their relationship with the natural environment, especially in relation to prominent landmarks within tribal boundaries.

Ko Tongariro te maunga	(Tongariro is the mountain)
Ko Taupo-nui-a-tia te moana	(Taupo is the sea)
Ko Tuwharetoa te iwi	(Tuwharetoa are the people)
Ko te Heuheu te tangata.	(Te Heuheu is the man)

This traditional pepeha for the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe identifies the major landmarks associated with the tribe, Lake Taupo and the mountain, Tongariro. These landmarks provide a link for Ngati Tuwharetoa back to their ancestors. The features of the North Island Volcanic Plateau are central in the mythical traditions of the tribe. Oral traditions relate the deeds of ancient ancestors that are associated with these landmarks. In Maori culture these myths are used to explain the existence of prominent landmarks, and the presence of these landmarks confirms the truth of the myth (Orbell, 1995, pp. 11-12). For example, notable ancestors for Ngati Tuwharetoa include Ngatoroirangi and Tia. Both are ancestors who were early explorers in the Taupo region. Tia's deeds are remembered through the landmarks he named during his journey through the region. Place names that commemorate his travels include Atiamuri (Tia who follows behind), Aratiatia (stairway of Tia) and Taupo-nui-a-tia (great taupo/rain-cloak of Tia) (Grace, 1959, pp. 58-59).

The journeys of Ngatoroirangi through the remote North Island interior are of great importance in examining how Maori established ties to the land and explained certain geological phenomena. The best example of this is

¹ concept of Mauri explored in greater detail on page 107

Ngatoroirangi's encounter on Tongariro with the explorer Hapekituarangi. In Ngatoroirangi's bid to gain the summit before the other, Ngatoroirangi called to Ruaimoko (deity of volcanism and earthquakes) to destroy his adversary. This plea resulted in a great storm being summoned, killing Hapekituarangi and greatly weakening Ngatoroirangi. On the point of succumbing to the cold Ngatoroirangi called to his sisters Kuiwai and Haungaroa in Hawaiki, who in return, sent fire underground to aid their brother. However, on the journey, the fire managed to escape through the earth in places such as Whakaari (White Island), Mayor Island, Tititere, Rotorua, Tarawera, Orakei-Korako, Wairakei, Taupo, and Tokaanu. On Tongariro, Ngatoroirangi threw down an ara (sacred stone) to mark the place where the fire spewed forth on the mountain in the form of a volcanic crater, Ngauruhoe. After being revived by the heat Ngatoroirangi struggled down the mountain to the hot-springs at Ketetahi where he soaked in the healing waters to regain his strength after the ordeal. (Grace, 1959, pp. 62-65; Winitana, 2001, pp. 94-101).

Through Maori oral history, stories such as this give explanations of various types of natural phenomena found within the landscape. In this case, the events recounted through Ngatoroirangi's journeys explain the line of geothermal activity that runs from Tongariro to White Island. The myth also establishes the importance of the mountains located within the North Island Volcanic Plateau for Ngati Tuwharetoa. Ngatoroirangi's journeys also contribute a host of names that identify features within Tuwharetoa's tribal territory such as the Kaimanawa Ranges. The most important of these features are: Tongariro (the cold wind that

seized Ngatoroirangi); Ngauruhoe (the quivering staff that Ngatoroirangi thrust into the mountain or conversely the name of the slave [Auruhoe] thrown into the crater to appease the gods and add mana to his request for fire); and Ruapehu (meaning crater dent, referring to where Ngatoroirangi in a moment of anger stamped the earth and made a large dent in the ground) (Winitana, 2001, pp 98-100).

These myths and legends established rights of occupation for tribes through discovery, naming and descent and were often used as a means of establishing title and tribal boundaries at hearings of the Maori Land Court in the late 1800's. At a sitting of the Native Land Court during 1886, the paramount chief of the Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Heuheu Tukino IV, demonstrated the importance of these rights of occupation. In response to a challenge by Rangihwinui Taitoko, who sought to lodge a claim in the court to a southern portion of Taupo by right of conquest, Tukino responded by saying...

Who are you that you speak of your fires burning in my country?
Where is your fire, your ahi ka? You cannot show it because it does not exist! Now I will show you mine! Look yonder, behold my ahi ka my mountain Tongariro, there burns my ahi ka kindled by my ancestor Ngatoroirangi (Grace, 1959, p. 461;Cowan, 1927, p. 27).

Examples such as this illustrate the important role that place-names, landmarks and the landscape played in Maori tribal society. The geographic

information contained within the landscape was used to denote tribal boundaries as in tribal sayings. Of greater importance to Maori is the fact that these landmarks are perceived as visual representations of their tupuna (ancestors). This interaction between mythology and land is central in the shaping of Maori thought and action. The stories handed down over the generations in some sense determined how Maori related to the environment. It is these stories that have set out the nature of the world and the place of humans in it. These stories then set the basis for Maori environmental attitudes.

4.2 Land and mythology

It is important to remember that the following accounts of traditional belief come from a collection of sources. That which holds true for one tribal group may not apply to another; may vary in respects; or may be discounted by other sources. The examination of myths is important for a number of reasons: foremost because myths and legends can provide insights into people's minds and behaviour. A common aspect of Maori myths and legends saw landmarks named to identify the deeds of their ancestors and, in other cases, the exploits of the Gods. In traditional Maori society oral traditions bonded Maori to the topography of the land, reinforcing who they are as a tribal entity. The following two quotes express these sentiments:

The love of their own territory developed to an absorbing degree, for tribal history was written over its hills and vales, its rivers, streams and lakes,

and upon its cliffs and shores. The earth and caves held the bones of their illustrious dead, and dirges and laments teemed with references to the love lavished upon the natural features of their homelands (Buck, 1949, p. 381).

The great number of Maori place names that have survived commemorate a mass of long remembered history, mythology and imagery that illustrates the close relationship maintained with the land (Sinclair, 1992, p. 65).

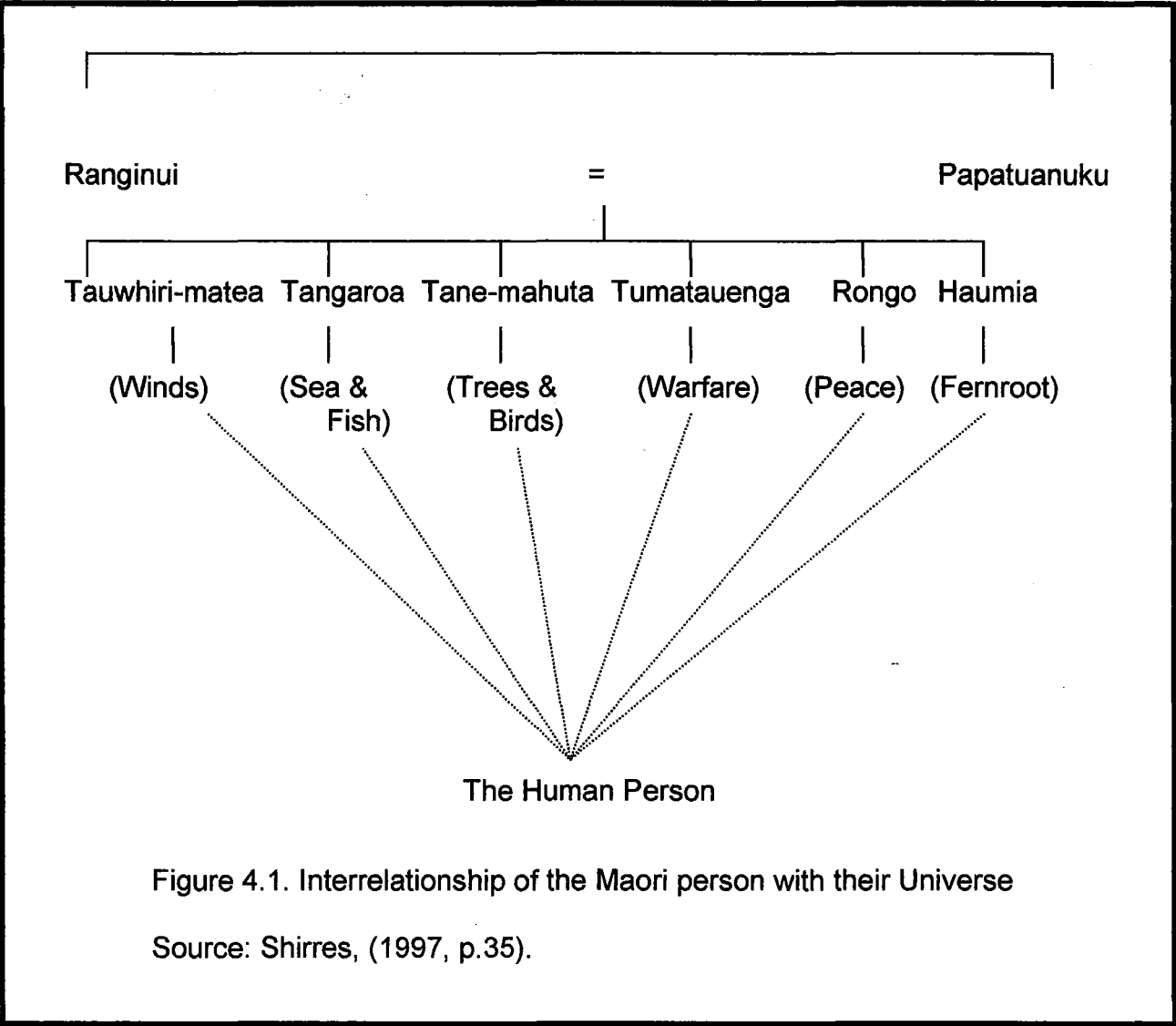
According to King (1995, p. i) Maori perceive the past as being in front of them, meaning that aspects of the past contain precedents that give purpose, guidance and identity to individuals and tribal affiliations in the present. To illustrate this idea King (1995, p. i) states that for Maori "the past holds the key to understanding the present, that nations do not know where they are or where they are heading until they know where they have been.

Mythology was one of the ways through which Maori examined the past, and explained the nature of the world and the place of human beings in it. Oral traditions provided a context into which Maori could place themselves. Maori see the world as a vast genealogy (fig 4.1), as traditional Maori creation myths establish kinship ties for all things. These creation myths demonstrate how everything descended from the same primordial parents (Schwimmer, 1966, pp. 13-16). This vast genealogy originates with the primordial parents Ranginui (sky father) and Papatuanuku (earth mother) and their seventy offspring. Among

these seventy were several higher spiritual powers or 'departmental gods': Tane-mahuta; Tu-matauenga; Tawhiri-matea; Tangaroa; Haumia-tiketike and Rongomai (Best, 1976, pp. 161-164; Buck, 1949, pp. 438-439). These 'departmental gods' were believed to have influence over certain aspects of human life. The domain of Tane was said to be trees and birds; Tu, that of war and men; Tangaroa the oceans; Rongo, peace and agriculture; Haumia the bracken fern and Tawhiri the wind (Buck, 1949, pp. 454-459). The seventy children of Rangi and Papa represented various personifications of natural cosmic phenomena; Ruaimoko (the unborn) for example personified earthquakes and volcanic activities.

By understanding the symbolism embedded within origin myths one can gain an insight into how traditional Maori regarded the environment and the role played by personification. Many of the myths that evolved can be seen as attempts to explain natural phenomena. For this purpose Maori envisaged a number of deities to act as personifications of such natural phenomena. By anthropomorphising the environment, and through the mating of different personifications, Maori brought order, structure and understanding to their surroundings. For example, Hine-taupari-maunga (the Mountain Maid) mated with Tane producing three children, who further mated with other personifications making Tane the grandfather of things such as taniwha, insects, lizard, reefs, rocks, sandstone, gravel and sand (Best, 1982, p. 323; Buck, 1949, p. 450). Researchers such as Buck (1949) frequently commented on the role that the personification of natural features in the environment played in traditional Maori

society. Buck (1949, p. 512) claims that “personification was a convenient process to apply to natural phenomena...and such personifications were also mated to produce other personifications...However, most of them remained as abstract conceptions”.



Traditional mythology is also used to explain how the land was shaped and moulded into its present form. For example, the North Island’s origin and topography is credited to the mythical figure of Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga who fished

it up. Maui is credited with catching a great ray like fish, referred to as Te ika a Maui (the great fish of Maui). However, while Maui returned home to thank the gods for his catch, Maui's brothers in his absence and in their greed, cut up the fish creating the present day mountains and lakes of the North Island. The head of the fish is in the south at Wellington, the fins can be seen at Taranaki and on the East Coast; and the tail can be found in Northland. Some claim that Lake Taupo is at the heart, while others claim the heart is at maunga Pohatu in the Urewera. Finally the fishhook can be seen jutting out at Cape Kidnappers (Orbell, 1995, pp. 114-117; Buck, 1949, p. 5).

The earliest stories regarding the origin of the South Island concern the Aoraki creation story (also see Chapter Five, pp. 123-124). Aoraki owned a great canoe, which he and his brothers used to sail down from the heavens to earth to inspect their father's (Rakinui) new wife (Papatuanuku). Unfortunately, as they tried to ascend back into the heavens they became entangled in a great storm, which capsized the canoe. Aoraki, followed by his three brothers, climbed to the highest point in the wrecked canoe, where they were turned to stone (Aoraki – Mt Cook; Rakiroa – Mt Dampier; Rakirua – Mt Teichelmann; Rarakiroa – Mt Silberhorn). Thus giving us the peaks of Ka Tiritiri o te Moana/the Southern Alps (Ngai Tahu Settlement Claims Act 1998; Orbell, 1995, pp. 26-27). Another version relating to the creation of southern mountains tells of the capsizing of the Araiteuru canoe at Moeraki, whose cargo turned to stone forming the Moeraki boulders. The survivors fled inland where they turned to stone or became mountains forming the Southern Alps. The principal mountain was Kirikatata who

carried his grandson Aoraki upon his shoulders (Beattie, 1994, p. 568; Beattie, 1980, pp. 63-4; Beattie, 1944, p. 39-40).

4.3 The Mountains of the Maori

The origin of hills, mountains and mountain ranges is explained through a number of myths such as Te ika a Maui and Te Waka o Aoraki. In Tuhoe tradition, Mountains themselves were collectively personified through Hine-taupari-maunga the Mountain Maid (Best, 1982, p. 323; Buck, 1949, p. 450). A common theme surrounding myths about mountains hinge upon personification as previously mentioned, that is the addition of human qualities to these prominent features. All tribes have a mountain, hill or range that is viewed as representing the mana of the tribe. To Maori, mountains are viewed as "he maunga whai mana," sources and expressions of a hapu's or iwi's mana. Mountains that are thought to be supernatural are treated with the respect their status requires (Orbell, 1995, pp. 122-123). These mountains are seen as manifestations of the power of the gods and as such they are highly tapu (sacred to Maori).

The view put forward by Issac (1967) that mountains symbolise gateways into the unknown can be applied to the traditional tribal cultures of New Zealand. According to Grey (1996, p. 9) for the iwi Ngai Tahu, mountains represent 'te tatau te ki Raki' (the doorway to the heavens) and the poutoko manawa (the cosmic pillar between Papatuanuku and Rakinui). In Ngai Tahu tradition

mountains are also considered as 'taumata o te Atua' (the resting place of the gods) and represent the mauri (universal soul) of those gods. Mountains for Ngai Tahu also provide a balance in the universe between the forces of life and death. Mountains as a symbol of life represent:

The pito (umbilical cord) the symbol of birth and life anew. This is represented in the melting of the snows creating streams of water which flow down the mountains and over the land, giving life anew to all things (Grey, 1996, p. 9).

Mountains as a symbol of death represent the capsized canoe of Aoraki.

When the incantation of Aoraki and his brothers was recited incorrectly they were petrified in the form of mountains, to lie forever as the threshold for the passage of departed spirits, either to the heavens or to the underworld below (Grey, *ibid*, p. 9).

For Maori, mountains also provide an important link in maintaining their cultural identity. Take the traditional pepeha for Ngai Tahu:

Ko Aoraki te Mauka (Aoraki is the mountain)

Ko Waitaki te awa (Waitaki is the river)

Ko Tahupotiki te tupuna (Tahupotiki is the ancestor)

Ko Kai Tahu te iwi (Kai Tahu are the people)

What this means to someone who identifies as being of Ngai Tahu descent is perhaps best summed up by Tipene O'Regan (1984):

Aoraki is my mountain, and it contains for my tribe the identity and mauri of my people. The Aorangi [Aoraki/Mt Cook] National Park is much more than a National Park as it is the symbol that unites the whole of the speakers people. It is the sense of tangata whenua and gives manawhenua, which is a traditional association.

Within tribal mythologies there is a plethora of stories that are associated with mountains and forests that cloak them. A number of mountains were regarded as maunga tipua (enchanted mountains) possessed of great power. They were also considered to be the haunts of supernatural creatures such as giants, maero (wildmen) and patupaiarehe (fairies) Maori viewed these creatures as visible manifestations of unearthly powers that were highly tapu. Patupaiarehe were a spirit folk who lived in remote places and, in traditional times, were thought of as supernatural beings that on occasion punished those who offended the gods. Tongariro was said to be home to three of these creatures. Te Ririo, Tahaka and Taunapiki were said to punish any transgression committed in view of the mountain such as catching birds on Tongariro's slopes, or cooking on the sacred sands of Onetapu in the Rangipo desert (Cowan, 1927, pp. 110-113). Maero or wild people were said to inhabit the great forests in the North Island and the hills and mountains of the South Island (Beattie, 1980, pp. 58-9; Orbell, 1995,

p. 94). Other mythical creatures that rate mentioning are Taniwha, water spirits that inhabited harbours, lakes, rivers and other bodies of water (Orbell, 1995, p. 184-186).

Throughout New Zealand there are innumerable myths and legends concerning mountains and other prominent landmarks found within tribal boundaries. In the South Island the formation of the Southern Alps can be found in the myths of Te Waka o Aoraki and Araiteuru. In the Araiteuru myth more than one hundred and fifty mountains are said to be survivors of the Araiteuru wreck including Aoraki (Mt Cook), Tapuae o Uenuku, Tawera (Mt Torlesse), Te Kiekie (Mt Sommers) Horokau (Mt Tasman) and Kairoa (Mt Sefton) (Anderson, 1998, pp. 15-16; Orbell, 1995, p. 30). On the East Coast of the North Island, Ngati Porou look upon Hikurangi as their sacred mountain, in the belief that the mountain represents the first part of the fish that Maui caught to rise above the water. Ngati Porou believe that Maui's waka still resides on the summit of Hikurangi (Orbell, 1995, p. 52-3). In the Rotorua district, Tarawera's volcanic rumblings are attributed to the imprisonment of the demon Tama-o-hoi deep within the mountain by the tohunga Ngatoroirangi (Orbell, 1995, p. 126). And in a bitter tribal rivalry between Tuhoe of the Urewera's and Ngai Kahungunu of Heretaunga (Hawkes Bay), an enduring peace was arranged through a marriage of tribal mountains. The mana of both tribes was represented in the marriage of the mountain Kuha-tawera to Tuhi-o-kahu a high hill that overlooks Waikaremoana (Orbell, 1995, p. 91).

One of the most well known myths concerning personified mountains is centred on the North Island Volcanic Plateau, where it is said that many mountains once congregated. A war broke out between the male mountains (Tongariro, Taranaki, Tauhara and Putauaki) to win the affection of the female mountain Pihanga, from which Tongariro emerged victorious. The defeated mountains moved off during the night; Tauhara and Putauaki (Mt Edgecumbe) departed east towards the place where the sun rose, leaving a large hollow that filled with water, which became Rotoaira. Tauhara, reluctant to leave, froze in place not far from the shores of Taupo-nui-a-tia. Putauaki came to rest in the Bay of Plenty. Taranaki travelled west to the setting sun leaving behind the depressions of Nga puna a Tamatea and, on his winding journey west, he carved out the deep canyon like valleys of the Whanganui, then the river filled with his tears. Finally, Taranaki came to rest in the west next to the Pouakai Range (Grace, 1959, pp. 506-508; Winitana, 2001, pp. 50-59).

Another variation on this myth claims that Tongariro and Taranaki were once men and the object of their affections was Ruapehu, not Pihanga. The story has it that Ruapehu was wed to Taranaki, but Tongariro coveted her also. One day after returning from hunting Taranaki came across Tongariro and Ruapehu together. In his anger Taranaki cast an incantation which transformed the two into their present form (the mountains) and he then fled west towards the sea. However, the incantation recoiled upon him and he too was transformed into a mountain near the present day city of New Plymouth where he gazes back with longing towards his wife, Ruapehu (Cowan, 1927, p. 108-9).

In Maori culture, the presence of mountains fulfilled a number of roles. Mountains were seen to be: an expression of a tribe's mana; the abode of gods and tupuna; sources of life; tombs of the dead; and places of inspiration. One element of the myths and legends that surround mountains and other unique landmarks was their ability to explain processes, which were little understood. For example the attributing of volcanic activity around Tarawera to a demon trapped inside the mountain. The oral traditions of tribes were also used to explain the presence of many solitary and uniquely shaped landmarks that occurred within tribal rohe, as people have the tendency to feel more at ease when they can understand unexplained phenomena. However, these mountains did not exist in isolation, but were integral elements of the surrounding natural and cultural environment.

4.4 A Maori Environmental Paradigm

Another way to view the relationship between Maori and land is to study the contributing components to the relationship in order to see how they fit into the larger picture. The elements that contribute to this relationship can be analysed in a conceptual framework developed by Blackford and Matunga (1993) to assess impacts of hazardous substances on Maori. This study suggested a wider application of the model. The inclusion of a Maori conceptual framework allows the inclusion of those values, beliefs and issues that are associated with land from a tikanga Maori (customary) perspective. By this I mean that Maori issues have to be understood in Maori terms. This framework (Fig 3.2) allows for the application of concepts such as taonga (something that is treasured), tikanga, kaitiaki and mauri towards the environment.

The model is based upon a complex interaction of tikanga depending on context. According to the situation in which the model is applied, the importance of various tikanga will vary. According to Matunga (1995) the model raises a number of questions that need to be answered, such as who are the kaitiaki and what are their needs? What taonga are associated? Why are the taonga valued and what tikanga express this.

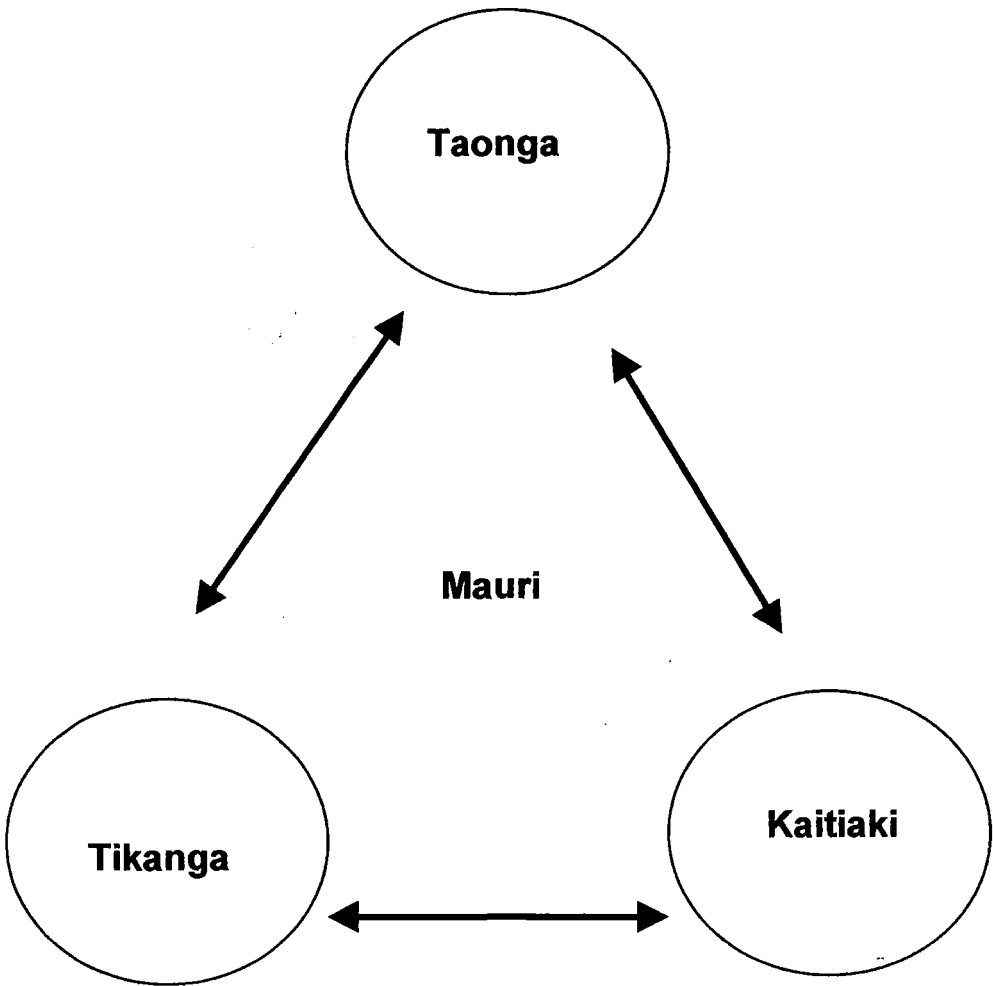


Figure. 4.2. A Framework for understanding Maori values.

Source: Matunga, Lecture content, Mana-kaitiaki 1999.

In terms of land, the interconnectedness of the model becomes obvious. Beginning with the concept of taonga, land itself is regarded as a treasured possession for Maori. The tikanga aspect of the framework addresses why it is considered a taonga, the principle of manaakitanga (reciprocity) establishes that tangata whenua have to care for the land and, in turn, it will care for them. The

wairua (spiritual) aspect of tikanga creates a link back to stories regarding creation. These stories identify humans as the children of Tane-mahuta. These ancestral links form the basis for Maori duties in terms of the principle of kaitiaki. All of these concepts work towards the ultimate goal of protecting the mauri of the resource, its life force. The following section addresses the individual components of the model in more detail.

4.5 Taonga

The first component of the model, Taonga, represents those things that are highly valued by the tangata whenua. Broadly translated into English, a taonga is an object or resource that is highly valued (Durie, 1998, p. 23). A taonga can be virtually anything, including not only the tangible but also the intangible. This means that taonga can include natural resources, rivers and mountains; or cultural properties, language and mauri, or social properties such as knowledge (Durie, 1998, p. 23). According to Matunga (1995, p. 23) taonga are "those things, objects, resources which are valued by the tangata whenua and which they aspire to protect because of their importance to the physical, spiritual and cultural well being of the iwi or hapu".

Matunga (ibid, p. 25) also identifies four classes of taonga. First, Matunga states that taonga can be a tangible resource such as a mountain or a resource like greenstone. Second, taonga can include the intangible properties of that resource such as the mana of the mountain or the mauri of the stone. Third,

taonga can refer to a specific activity or experience such as collecting greenstone and fourth, taonga can refer to knowledge regarding a particular resource.

Land is regarded as taonga for many reasons. In terms of tribal history the significance of the area re-confirms tribal identity and turangawaewae. Land is thought of as a taonga because it contains its own life essence. For example, to the tribes of the South Island, the Southern Alps ancestors who have been turned to stone. Individual mountains within the Alps and elsewhere throughout the South Island are regarded as sacred to the tribe or hapu. These include the tapu Mountains of Aoraki and Tapuae o Uenuku.

4.6 *Tikanga*

The second element of the model, tikanga, can be thought of as Maori norms and values derived from the three kete (baskets) of knowledge in a traditional context. Tikanga are made up of a variety of concepts, where the context determines what concepts are applied and to what degree. Matunga (1995, p. 27) suggests that tikanga can also mean, in a broader sense, desired end states such as the protection of mauri or the recognition of manawhenua and kaitiaki status.

It is important to have an understanding of the tikanga associated with specific taonga as this gives insight into why it is valued by the tangata whenua (Matunga, 1995; Matunga & Blackford, 1993). It is important to take into

consideration not only iwi values, but those of hapu and whanau as well. Although these people may all be related tribally, they may still have a different perspective or value base, which needs to be taken into account. A number of concepts accompany the customary application of tikanga. These include concepts such as Rangatiratanga, Manaakitanga, Whanaungatanga, Kotahitanga and Wairuangatanga. In terms of land, a number of these concepts are expressed in some way. However, for this thesis only the central concepts will be discussed.

4.6.1 Rangatiratanga

The first of these concepts, rangatiratanga, refers to the ability to exercise chieftainship equivalent to one's authority. It is the mechanism by which authority and mana are given expression within Maori tribal structure. Mana is another integral part of traditional Maori society that needs clarification. The term mana can be defined as meaning prestige, influence, authority and power. Although the concept is more than just these things. According to Orbell (1995, pp. 99-100) traditionally those who possessed mana received it from their tupuna. The concept of mana for Maori is not static but can increase or decrease with various actions. As with many concepts within traditional Maori society, these concepts are interconnected. For example, how Tino Rangatiratanga contained within the Treaty of Waitangi is recognised, guaranteed and effected, has the ability to impact upon the mana and the rangatiratanga of individuals, whanau, hapu and

iwi (Gray, et al, 1988, p. 15). Rangatiratanga is also linked to kinship and establishes who has access to particular resources.

4.6.2 Wairuangatanga and Mauri

Everything in Maoridom has a wairua or a spiritual dimension. In terms of Maori thinking, everything has a consequence for the land. The main concept behind wairua is that all things contain mauri; a life force which is derived as part of the physical body of Papatuanuku (Ritchie, 1991, pp. 78-80). In the following quote Terry Ryan (Pers. Com, 1999) outlines the importance of wairua; "to lose the wairua of the land would be like losing the spirit of the soul, therefore, it is important to maintain the wairua of the land so that it may thrive" (Ryan, pers. com., 1999).

Tangata Whenua tradition holds that people are descended from creation itself and all creation is interrelated, linked by common ancestry. The common link is the presence of mauri or the principle element of life. To tangata whenua, all things in creation are alive and possess their own life force. As commented above, Maori believe that everything has mauri, a life essence that must be respected. Mauri is a dynamic concept, as the level of mauri can rise and fall dependent upon the conditions found. Using the example of a forest, if the mauri of a forest is not respected, (i.e., forest degradation through clear felling) then it will lose its' vitality. If the problem is not arrested, then the mauri of that forest will grow smaller and smaller until it is extinguished.

For Maori, land is regarded as a living entity and is the source of an environmental ethic system known as kaitiakitanga, which is used as a guide to resource based decision-making.

4.7 Kaitiakitanga

For any given resource there are particular people who have the responsibility for it. Kaitiakitanga refers to a Maori environmental management system based on tikanga, developed and observed by tangata whenua to maintain the mauri of the resource (Nutall and Ritchie, 1995, pp. 2-3).

The word itself comes from the word Tiaki, which means to guard, protect or care for. Kaitiaki is part of Maori cultural and spiritual beliefs linking the past with the present, providing continuity through the generations. The concept of kaitiaki carries with it the obligation for tangata whenua to use and manage resources wisely and to provide for their sustainable use. According to Matunga (1995, p. 23.) kaitiakitanga refers to “tangata whenua who have mana over a particular geographic area and who accordingly have the authority and obligation to manage the taonga contained therein”.

Kaitiakitanga in the Maori world bestows power and duty. It places upon tangata whenua the specific responsibility of acting as guardians of natural resources in their tribal territory. Only tangata whenua can be kaitiaki within their

rohe (tribal boundaries) or takiwa (sub tribal areas); only they are suited to determine the nature of kaitiaki and how it should be given effect.

Durie (1998, p. 23) comments that amongst iwi the responsibility of kaitiakitanga brings with it clear lines of accountability to whanau and iwi, associated with obligation rather than authority. The obligation is to provide for future generations through the act of kaitiakitanga. Because of the obligations and responsibilities that kaitiaki places upon iwi, hapu or whanau (extended family grouping), there are certain considerations that need to be taken into account when dealing with Maori. According to Matunga (1995, pp. 23-24) considerations include the protection of the mauri of natural resources, recognition of manawhenua, recognition of kaitiaki obligations and the preservation of taonga.

As with rangatiratanga and mana, the concepts of mana and kaitiakitanga are synonymous, and were exercised at iwi, hapu and whanau levels. Iwi collectively protected the fullest extent of the territory and the resources in it, while certain hapu had particular roles on behalf of the whole iwi. Within these hapu there are whanau and individuals that are kaitiaki for specific hapu resources (Kai Tahu ki Otago, p. 9-10). Traditional knowledge provided the mechanisms for maintaining the environment and its resources in equilibrium using a system based on tapu (restricted access, sacred) and temporary restriction (rahui) which were enforced by the solidarity of the people and the mana of the rangatira.

4.8 Summary

Things Maori must be understood in Maori terms; it is imperative that people understand that Maori are connected with the land. The fact that a place is a national park or is held in private ownership is not important: ties to the place remain. Maori attachments to land are linked to spirituality, identity, social structure and economic resources. The land is regarded as a sacred trust and as an asset of the people. Over time, tapu laws and kaitiakitanga obligations, have been used to protect tribally defined geographic territory.

The Maori relationship with the natural environment is evident in every facet of society. Everywhere natural features bear names that stand as a testament to the feats of the gods and tupuna. These stories have immortalised the landscape, animating it beyond mere physical shape. - Through myth, prominent environmental features have been personified, exhibiting human traits such as mountains cloaked in mana. More important, however, is the fact that these myths reflect Maori environmental values. As with other indigenous cultures, Maori view themselves as a part of nature and do not have dominion over it. They are tangata whenua, the people of the land, and view themselves as direct descendants of Tane-mahuta, and therefore of the earth.

For those unfamiliar with Maori concepts and approaches to the environment, the application of a Maori conceptual framework can greatly aid

resource based planning. For those managing resources with iwi interests, knowledge of Maori value systems is needed. Only through understanding the interconnectedness of the Maori belief system and the importance and role of key components such as taonga, tikanga and kaitiakitanga, can an awareness be gained of why iwi respond to certain issues in certain ways. Without this understanding, how can Maori needs be adequately catered for?

Throughout this chapter I have referred to subjective and conceptual meanings that Maori have attached to the landscape. In Chapter Three the emphasis was upon understanding the processes that led to the disassociation of Maori from the landscape and the role that DOC has in re-integrating Maori with the landscape. The Department of Conservation has an important role in recognising and providing for Maori attachments to land. This is because the taonga referred to in this chapter; the mountains, forests, bodies of water and sacred places that are found in the landscape occur in large numbers throughout the width and breadth of the conservation estate. The settlement of territorial and non-territorial claims and the growing recognition and importance of Maori values in New Zealand will mean that many important Maori cultural concepts will have to be integrated into the management of land by Crown agencies such as DOC. This process will once again transform the cultural landscape of New Zealand as Maori concepts such as kaitiakitanga, tikanga and taonga are applied to environmental management. The case study in the following chapter will allow me to take the central ideas discussed in this thesis and fix them into spatial patterns. The case study is an opportunity to specifically, address the important

symbolic and historical dimensions that Maori apply to the landscape. The case study is also an opportunity to examine of density and distribution of 'places' that are significant to Ngai Tahu Whanui as they occur in a protected natural area.

Chapter Five: The Mount Aspiring / Tititea region.

"Place names are a significant symbol of Ngai Tahu's relationship with the landscape. The re-establishment of traditional place names in a variety of areas will serve as tangible reminders of our history in

Te Wai Pounamu"

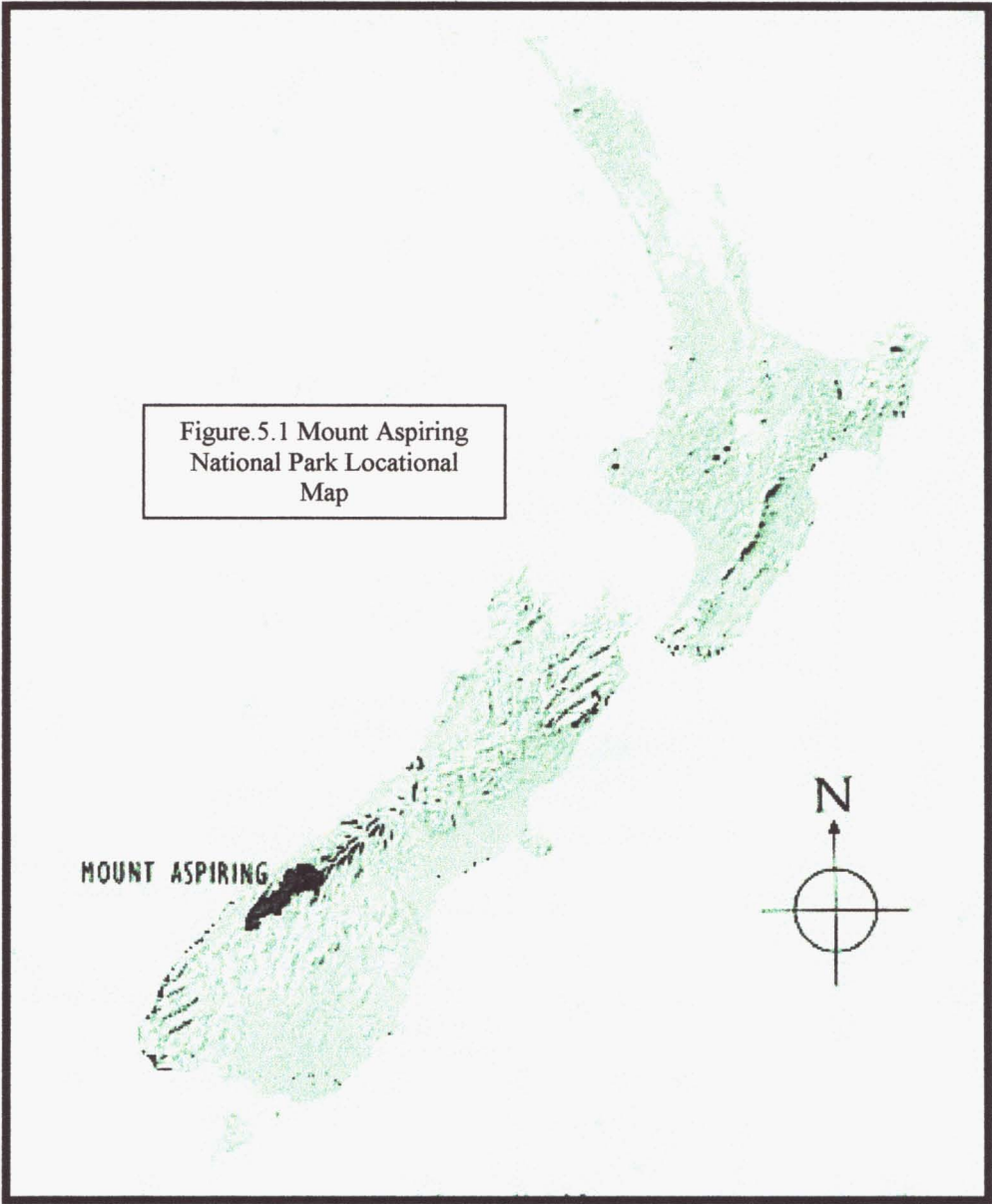
(Ngai Tahu, 1998, p.37).

This chapter draws together the themes that have been examined in the proceeding chapters. It considers a Maori perspective towards a specific place as seen through an interpretation of the area's tikanga and taonga. The case study deals specifically with the Mount Aspiring Region, focusing upon the history, mythology and placenames that have emerged as a result of events centered on Mount Aspiring National Park and the surrounding area. The purpose of this case study is to illustrate how landmarks, myths and the events surrounding them, have added to a feeling of cultural identity for those hapu inhabiting the area and for others with links to the region.

5.1 Background

The study area, Mount Aspiring National Park, is located in the southwest of the South Island (fig 5.1). The area has been a National Park since 1964 and covers 355,000 hectares, making it the third largest park in New Zealand. The area also has world heritage status, being part of Te Wahi Pounamu (Southwest New Zealand World Heritage Area). The boundaries of

the park stretch from Haast Pass in the North to the Humboldt Mountains at the head of Lake Whakatipu in the South.



The study area (fig 5.2) also extends to cover the Hollyford Valley to the immediate south of the park and the Lakes region to the east.

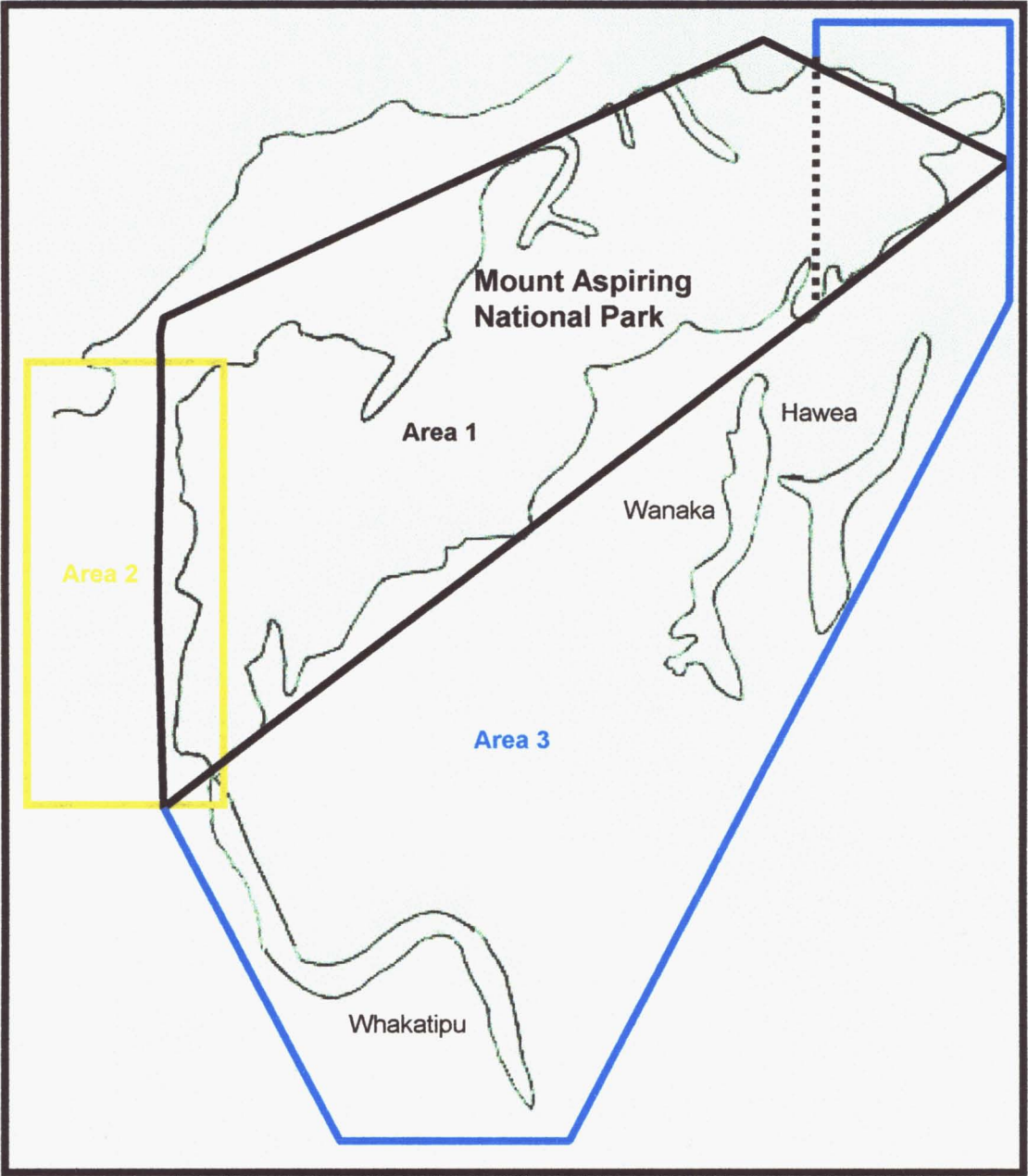


Figure 5.2. Study areas contained within research region

Key

- Area 1 Mount Aspiring National Park
- Area 2 Hollyford, Greenstone and Routeburn Valleys
- Area 3 Lakes District and Haast River

The park is comprised mainly of mountainous regions, forested areas and also contains an extensive ice plateau. The most prominent feature within the park is the peak of Mount Aspiring which, at 3027, metres makes it the highest peak outside of the Mount Cook region (Department of Conservation, 1994, pp.3-7).

In terms of the geology of the region, Mount Aspiring National Park is situated within a region of grey, green and pink schist, a metamorphic rock composed of layers of mud and sand. The underlying schist bedrock of the park is lodged between the harder gneiss, granite and diorite rocks of Fiordland National Park in the south and greywacke of Westland and Mount Cook National Parks to the north. Unique features of the park include the Red Hills, whose high levels of magnesium and iron give these rocks their uncommon appearance (Peat, 1994).

To orientate oneself with the topography of the park, imagine standing near the summit of Mount Aspiring and spinning 360 degrees to survey the surrounding landscape and identifying the following landmarks. From the top of Mount Aspiring travelling south over the Cascade Saddle one comes to the Dart and Rees Rivers, which are split either side of Mount Earnslaw before spilling out into Lake Whakatipu. Travelling down the Dart River one also passes the Slip Stream area, the site of an ancient greenstone quarry. From the head of Lake Whakatipu one crosses the Humboldt Mountains on old greenstone trails up the Routeburn and Greenstone Rivers. From these trails one can continue travelling south to the Mavora Lakes or through to Te Anau.

The other option at this point is to travel to the West Coast along the Hollyford River, past Lakes Alabaster and McKerrow to Martins Bay under the shadow of Mount Tutoko.

Surveying the landscape to the north of Mount Aspiring one travels along the divide to the headwaters of the Wilkin River and to the twin peaks of Mounts Castor and Pollux. Continuing north a number of tributaries, such as the Wilkin and Young Rivers, empty out into the Makarora River under the heights of Mount Brewster. Travelling to the northwest brings one to Haast on the West Coast. To the southeast, along the Makarora River, lies Lake Wanaka and the beginning of the lakes district to the east of the Park. Looking east from Mount Aspiring, just outside the park boundaries lie Lakes Wanaka and Hawea, while Lake Whakatipu is situated further south. To the West of Mount Aspiring lie the Haast and Olivine ranges and, beyond that, the West Coast.

In terms of human occupation Maori have had a long established presence in the valleys and rivers of the region that dates back hundreds of years. This Maori presence continues today with the region being regarded as an area of shared interest by several Papatipu Runanga. These include the Papatipu Runanga of Moeraki, Otakou, Huirapa te Puketeraki, several whanau roopu groups as well as input from Murihuku (Southland) and Tai Poutini (West Coast). Hooker's (1986) work on the archaeology of the South Westland Maori shows a scattering of archaeological sites along the West Coast stretching from Bold Head in the north, to Martins Bay in the south.

Around the Mount Aspiring region, there are a number of sites including locations such as Big Bay and Okuru Bay. The distribution of these sites along the West Coast was thought to be for access to the prized resource of pounamu (Greenstone) and to food resources found in the area (Hooker, *ibid*, p. 1). On the West Coast traditional accounts indicate long periods of settlement at Jackson Bay and Martins Bay (Beattie, 1994a, 1994b, 1954 1949).

These traditional accounts are supported by archaeological evidence (Hooker, 1986, pp. 9-10) including the discovery of adzes at Haast and artefacts in Serendipity cave, west of Jackson Bay. This evidence indicates the use of this region by local Maori in the classic-early historic period (1300 to 1500). On the eastern side of the Alps a number of small settlements (permanent and seasonal) were supported by lakes; Whakatipu, Hawea and Wanaka (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.105; s.12.106; s.12.107). Umu-ti (large ovens) at the head of Lake Whakatipu also suggest early use of the region and were carbon-dated to between 1250-1350 (Hamel, 2001, p.46).

Despite its remoteness, the Mount Aspiring region and South Westland were part of a well-established trading or exchange network that extended throughout the South Island, and in some cases, into the North Island. Evidence for this was found in a range of exotic stone artefacts recovered from archaeological sites in South Westland. Examples of materials recovered from Jackson Bay included obsidian from sources on Mayor Island (Bay of Plenty) and argillite from sources in both Southland and Nelson-

Marlborough (Hooker, 1986, pp. 49-50). Artefacts of South Westland nephrite origin have also been recovered from locations as varied as Ngaruawahia, Waitakere and Opotiki (Hooker, *ibid*, p. 52).

Tangata Whenua traditionally expressed their intimate knowledge of the landscape through the use of waiata (song), proverbs, whakapapa, narratives, chants and placenames. Many of the placenames were descriptive in nature outlining the terrain, food resources in certain locations and other resources important to traditional Maori society. Beattie (1949, pp. 62-3) describes how a route between Te Anau and Milford was recounted through waiata, providing not only a description of the trail, but also a history of events and the location of certain food resources. The importance of these placenames, and the ability to accurately recite a series of landmarks or the location of resources, was obvious to those who crisscrossed the trails of the South Island. As Maori had no written language, the retention of knowledge in memory maps was crucial for the successful and accurate navigation of travellers across the country (Brailsford, 1996, p 38).

This traditional knowledge later assisted European exploration, with explorers obtaining crude but accurate maps (figure 5.3) listing the important geographical features of the region. In terms of the Mount Aspiring region men such as James Hector, Patrick Caples, Jack Holloway, Julius Haast, Charlie Douglas and John Turnbull Thompson all figure in the exploration of the region. These explorers and others 'discovered' and 'named' an already known geography (to Maori that is). For example, Thompson, in his surveying

journeys, named the peaks of Earnslaw and Aspiring (Hall-jones, 1992, pp.18-19, 80; Langton, 2002, pp. 4-6). A number of the Maori placenames that still remain on current maps can be misleading, as some of them are a product of European exploration and settlement. Examples of this include Tutoko, which was named by Hector after the chief who lived at Martins Bay (Langton, 2000, p. 5), and Rototekoeiti named by Leonard Harper after his Maori guide Dan Te Koeiti (Langton, 2001, p. 5). Many of these early explorers were often astounded at the detailed knowledge that their Maori guides had of the surrounding countryside (Brailsford, 1996, p. 38). "Maori guides often accompanied such men (early European explorers) using trails with landmarks long familiar to them and places named after their ancestors" (Ngai Tahu Report, 1991, p.188).

In the Mount Aspiring region the descendants of Tutoko assisted early explorers in filling the gaps in European knowledge of South Westland. Kere Tutoko, Ruera Te Naihi, the Bannister family, the Te Koeti family and Joe Flutey, were prominent in helping to extend European knowledge and in paving the way for mountaineering in the region (Langton, 2001, pp. 4-6).

5.2 The use of traditional placenames

According to Tau (2000, pp. 48-52; 1997, p. 416) the spaces contained within the landscape were explained and understood through a system of whakapapa. Dividing the landscape into genealogical order allowed Ngai Tahu Whanui to claim kinship with the land and thereby define their relationship to it. The recital of whakapapa by iwi not only created a 'predefined intellectual order' on the landscape, it also acted as an effective mnemonic device for future generations of the tribe. As Tau states "those genealogies are recited and placed with the traditions to give them a context of time and setting, a context of the recent past and distant future" (Tau, 1997, p. 173).

Tau (ibid, pp. 252-253) shows that the order placed by Ngai Tahu Whanui upon the environment did in fact follow distinct patterns. Tau applies labels to the landscape in the following order. First, the largest landforms took on names relating to mythology and creation. For example, the Southern Alps, Mount Aspiring and the general topography of the region are placed within the mythological framework of Aoraki's canoe and the deeds of Tu Te Rakiwhanoa (immortalised in the topography of Mount Aspiring and Fiordland) thereby imposing order upon the unknown world. The following extract from the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act outlines this mythological framework and explains how the landscape of the South Island came into being:

In the beginning there was no Te Wai Pounamu or Aotearoa. The waters of Kiwa rolled over the place now occupied by the South Island, the North Island and Stewart Island. No sign of land existed. Before Raki (the Sky Father) wedded Papa-tua-nuku (the Earth Mother), each of them already had children by other unions. After the marriage, some of the Sky Children came down to greet their father's new wife and some even married Earth Daughters. Among the celestial visitors were four sons of Raki who were named Ao-raki (Cloud in the Sky), Raki-roa (Long Raki), Raki-rua (Raki the Second), and Raraki-roa (Long Unbroken Line). They came down in a canoe, which was known as Te Waka o Aoraki. They cruised around Papa-tua-nuku who lay as one body in a huge continent known as Hawaiiki. Then, keen to explore, the voyagers set out to sea but no matter how far they travelled, they could not find land. They decided to return to their celestial home but the karakia (incantation) which should have lifted the waka (canoe) back to the heavens failed and their craft ran aground on a hidden reef turning to stone and earth in the process. The waka listed and settled with the west side much higher out of the water than the east. Thus the whole waka formed the South Island, hence the name: Te Waka o Aoraki. Aoraki and his brothers clambered on to the high side and were turned to stone. They are still there today. Aoraki is the mountain known to Pākehā as Mount Cook, and his brothers are the next highest peaks near him. The form of the island as it now is owes much to the subsequent deeds of Tu te Rakiwhanoa, who took on the job of

shaping the land to make it fit for human habitation (NTCS Act 1998, s. 12.67).

The second of Tau's (1997, pp. 252-253) groupings shows that other prominent landforms generally took on the names of tipuna from canoe traditions such as Rakaihautu and Tamatea-Pokai-whenua. The histories of these neo-mythical characters are recorded in various landforms across the South Island. In the study region, Rakaihautu's journeys are recorded in the lakes of Hawea, Wanaka, Whakatipu-wai-maori and Whakatipu-Waitai. The final grouping of placenames according to Tau (ibid, pp. 252-253) refer to smaller landforms such as small waterways and hillocks. These names typically relate to ancestors who date back to the time of the Ngai Tahu migration into the South Island. This is because, during their movement south, Ngai Tahu absorbed the previous inhabitants of Te Wai Pounamu into their ranks, thereby inheriting a history where placenames relating to major landmarks had already been derived (Tau, 1997, pp. 252-253).

In absorbing Waitaha and Ngati Mamoe, Ngai Tahu inherited many traditions including earlier names for features (Ngai Tahu Report, 1991, p. 184).

By the time Ngai Tuhaitara had captured the South Island, earlier tribes had already carved histories into the landscape (Tau, 1997, p. 253).

5.3 Placenames in the Mount Aspiring Region

In the case of Mount Aspiring National Park an examination of local placenames and mythology makes it obvious that the different landforms in the region have been classified in a number of different ways. Those regions of the park and the surrounding areas that experience frequent human use, such as the greenstone trails, carry a greater range of placenames than other areas of the park, indicating a more intimate knowledge of those surroundings. Distinctive features mark certain points along the trail, indicating certain resources in the area, or other descriptive characteristics relating to the lie of the land. Distinctive features also act as a reminder of places where certain events in history had taken place. Placenames like Momona (fat pigeons/birds) and Pi-o-te-koko (younglings of the Tui) indicate where certain types of birds were usually seen, while descriptive names such as Hau-mai-tiketike (Mount Brewster) were used to detail physical attributes of the landscape. In this instance Hau-mai-tiketike referred to the cold breeze arising from the glacier on Mount Brewster, which travellers would feel when they reached the top of Tiori-patea (Haast Pass). It is also important to note that besides these descriptive names and resource markers, certain placenames along travelling routes also carried the names of ancestors who were associated with the area. Examples of this can be seen in the names Te Wai-o-heu which refers to the drinking place or waters of Heu, while Otapara or Lake Gunn is named after Tapara, a Waitaha ancestor.

Those areas of the park which are isolated and located further away from the well established travelling routes were more likely to have names relating to cosmogenic events or supernatural beings whose actions created the landforms in the area. One of the names for Mount Aspiring, Maakahi-o-Tu-te-Rakiwhanoa, illustrates this practice as it is a reminder how certain landforms such as the fiords in Fiordland were shaped. Other names like Kapuke-maeroero (Bayonet Peaks) point to places of superstitious belief.

Apart from using landmarks as a way of recording history and as a method for orienting oneself with the landscape, certain sites also had important spiritual values associated with them. For example, mountains such as Tititea (Mt Aspiring), Mt Tutoko and Pikirakatahi (Mt Earnslaw) represent to the members of Ngai Tahu Whanui, an unbroken line of whakapapa back to the Gods. These principal mountains are thought of as direct representations of the children of Raki and Papa reaching skyward. Other rock features and landmarks of unusual visual appearance were often attributed to indwelling spirits. Unusual features were also regarded in certain instances as guardians watching over the land and the people. Lakes, rivers and springs also played an important role in the cultural composition of tribal identity. In the Mount Aspiring region, waterways such as Whakatipu-wai-maori, Wanaka and Hawea all figure in creation stories, and are consequently considered sacred and spiritually significant.

Placenames in the Mount Aspiring region carry a raft of useful information, thereby bringing added meaning to the places for those who

travelled. When examining the placenames of the region it is obvious that the most visible of features such as mountains and waterways are named in abundance. This illustrates the importance that Maori placed upon such landmarks for establishing a reference point for them physically, culturally and spiritually within the environment.

5.4 The landscape of the Mount Aspiring Region

One of the names that local Maori apply to the peaks of Northwest Otago is Titirauraki, the land of many peaks piercing the clouds (Beattie, 1949; p.100). These peaks in turn form part of Ka Tiritiri o te Moana, the Southern Alps and, at the centre of these cloud piercing peaks, lies Mount Aspiring, a principal mountain for Ngai Tahu Whanui. The Mountains that are located within Mount Aspiring National Park and other Southern National Parks (Fiordland, Westland, Aoraki/Mount Cook, Arthur's Pass, Nelson Lakes) represent part of Te Waka o Aoraki.

Mount Aspiring

Mount Aspiring provides an important connection to the past for Ngai Tahu Whanui. As with other principal mountains of Ngai Tahu Whanui, the mountain is imbued with the spiritual elements of the primordial parents (Rakinui and Papatuanuku). Resulting from this connection to the primeval parents, and because of its prominent peak and role in the creation stories, Mount Aspiring's tapu status is ensured (Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998, s.12.68).

Because successive tribes have lived in the Mount Aspiring region the mountain has acquired several names. The most common of these is Tititea, referring to the mountain's white peak. Other names for the mountain include Otapahu, which may refer to a type of dogskin cloak, and Maakahi o Tu Te Rakiwhanoa, referring to a wedge belonging to the atua Tu Te Rakiwhanoa (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.68). Tu Te Rakiwhanoa is remembered for his labours in preparing the South Island for human habitation. A tangible reminder to Ngai Tahu of Tu te Rakiwhanoa's deeds and his great axe Te Hamo are forever enshrined by the presence of Mount Aspiring.

He (Tu te Rakiwhanoa) made an inspection of this canoe of Aoraki and found things far from his liking. The high and elaborate prow had fallen and shattered, forming the present Marlborough Sounds and this he left as it was. The Western Side of the canoe he found to be one long, high unbroken line, and he dealt with it first...He saw the long Paparoa Range blocking the flow of inland rivers to the sea...he made the gorge through which the Grey River flows at Greymouth. The full name of that gorge is Te Mawherataka-o-ka-kahu-o-Tu-te-Raki-whanoa (the extension made by the thighs of Tu)...it does not appear that he did anything to Westland or the South Alps...(Beattie, 1949, pp. 8-9).

His hardest task however came at Milford Sound where he:

Decided to try and make a few openings in that unbroken line and so let the sea run in...He grasped his giant axe Te Hamo and set to work to tapahi (chop) into this great mountain wall...When Tu had gaps made in the outer wall and the sea began to flow in, he started to push and heave at the inland country to extend the length of the sounds...After he had done much work on the western side, Tu gave his attention to the eastern side and its bleak line. What was man to do without fishing harbours? And without shelter for canoes? To meet this need Tu made Banks Peninsula (Beattie, *ibid*, pp. 8-9).

The southern slope of Mount Aspiring holds the Bonar Glacier or Hukairoroa Ta Parekioire (The glacier formed by Parekioire). In myth the giant Parekioire travelled the South and North Islands, taking titi (muttonbirds) north and returning with kumara. The lakes are said to represent his footprints and the frozen splashes from his footsteps were transformed into the glaciers of the South (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.68).

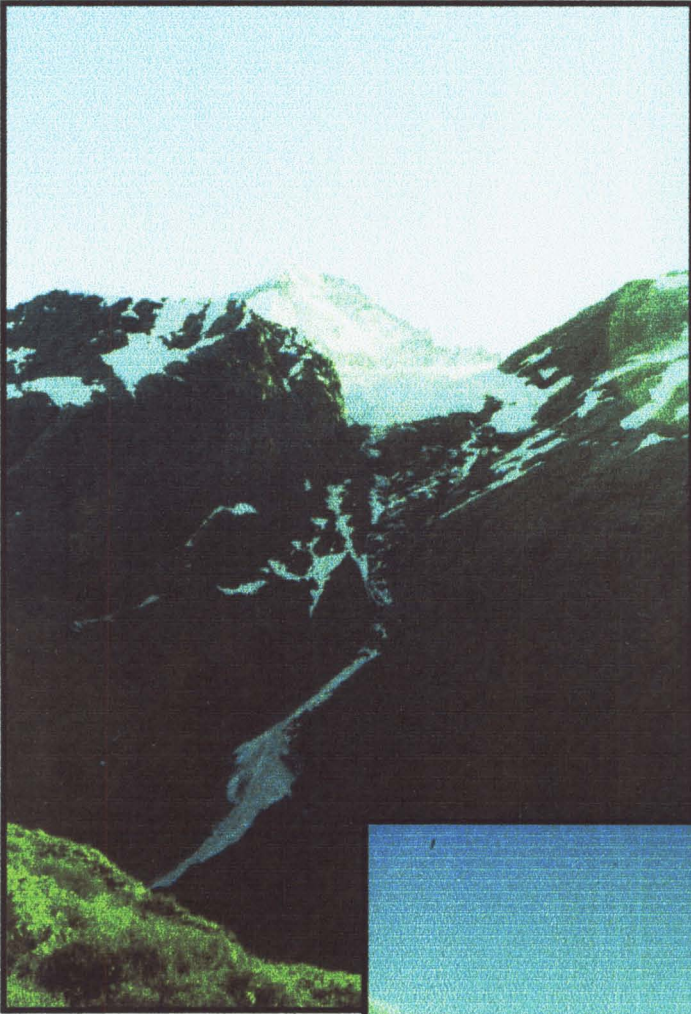


Photo .5.1
Tititea/Mount Aspiring
and the Bonar Glacier

Photo: D. Taylor 2001

Photo 5.2
Tititea/
Mount Aspiring

Photo: M. Quinn
2001



Mount Earnslaw

To the south of Mount Aspiring lies Mount Earnslaw or Pikirakatahi. The creation of Pikirakatahi is linked to the original creation story for the South Island Te Waka o Aoraki, and the efforts of Tu Te Rakiwhanoa. The origins of the name Pikirakatahi have been lost. However, the most likely explanation is that the name relates to the journey of Rakaihautu. This is because most of the prominent lakes, rivers and mountains of the interior take their names from this early explorer (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.70).

During the creation of Pikirakatahi it is said that a wedge of pounamu was inserted into the mountain. It is also the highest and most prominent peak that can be seen from the head of Lake Whakatipu. For the Tangata Whenua of the region Pikirakatahi stands as guardian over the pounamu resource that can be found off a tributary of the Dart River (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.70).

Pikirakatahi was of crucial significance to the many generations that journeyed to the far end of Whakatipu-wai-maori and beyond. The base of the mountain provided staging camps for the retrieval of pounamu, while the lower flanks of the mountain provided opportunities for people to gather native birds and firewood for cooking and warmth (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.70).



Other Features

To the north of Mount Aspiring lies a group of Mountains that are named after the family members of Pohaitaka, a descendent of Rakaihautu. The name Pohaitaka is given to Mount Pollux, his son Kuha-makaia is Glacier Dome. The daughter of Kuha-makaia, Hine-Makawe gives her name to Mount Castor, while her grandson, Kahukura gives his to Mount Alba. Te Wairua or Mount Hyperia received its name from the child of Kahukura (Beattie, 1994b, p.72). The addition of the Red Hills in 1987 saw an area unique in its appearance added to Mt Aspiring National Park. Due to the uniqueness of this area it is my belief that it would likely have associated waahi tapu sites and history for tangata whenua. In a conversation with Maurice Nutira from Waitaha (June, 2002) he related that the area does in fact have waahi tapu sites and an associated history and mythology. However, the knowledge regarding that area remains safeguarded by kaitiaki.

Figure 5.4

Central Region
Placename map

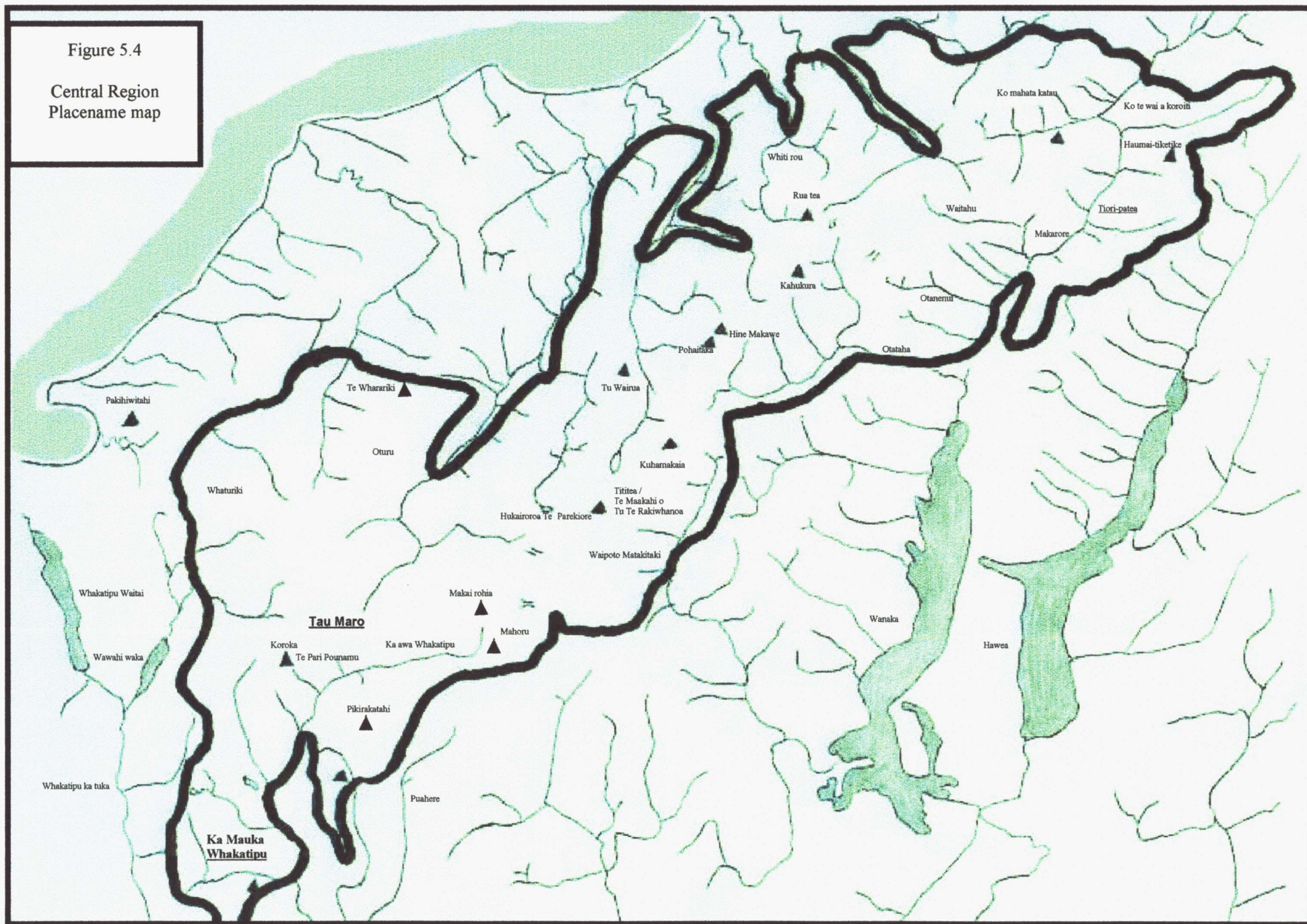




Photo 5.4

Otanenui/Te whare manu
(The head of the Young River and
the Young Range)

Photo: M. Quinn 2001

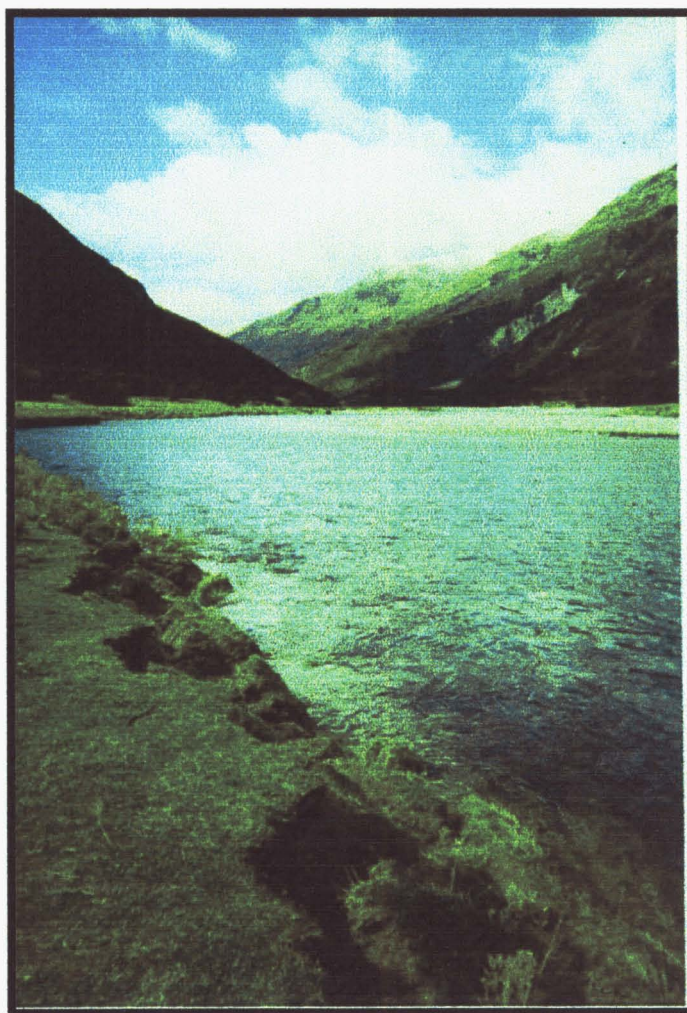


Photo 5.5

Otataha/The Wilkin River

Photo: M. Quinn 2001

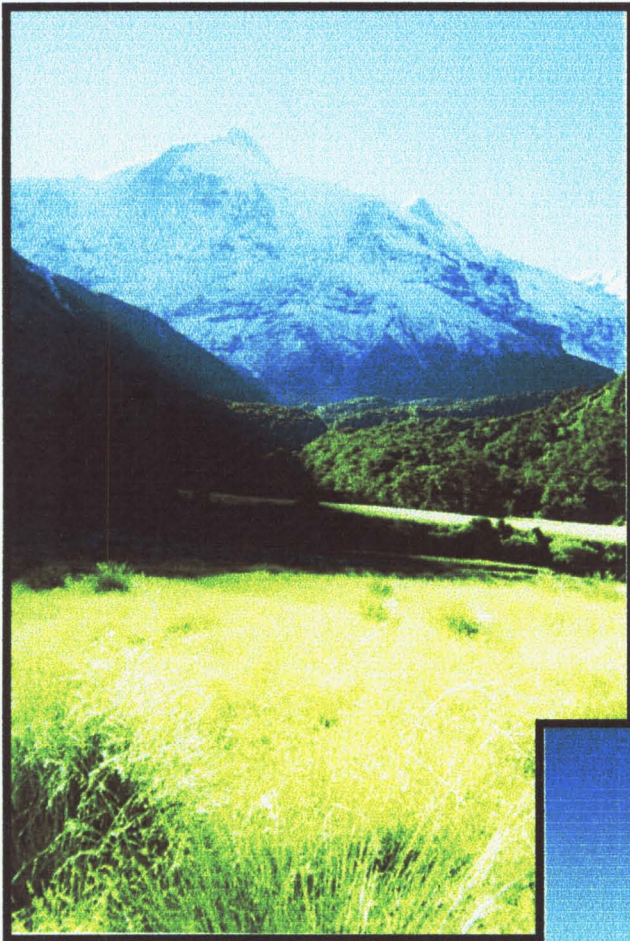


Photo 5.6

Pohaitaka and Hine Makawe
(Mount Pollux with Mount Castor in
behind)

Photo: M. Quinn 2001

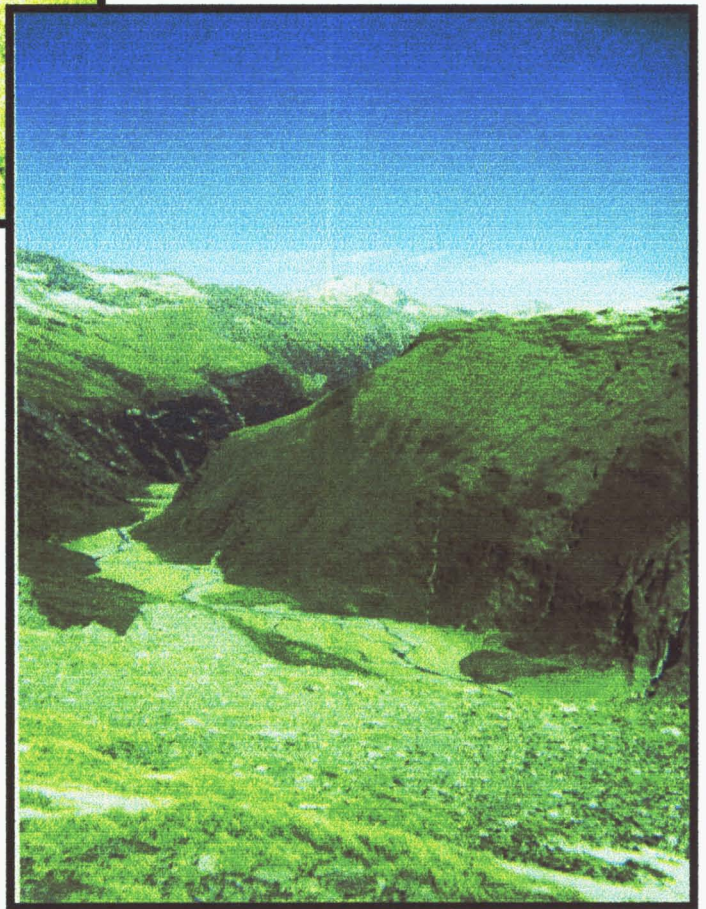


Photo 5.7

Matukituki River Valley

Photo: M. Quinn 2001

Pounamu

The Maori word pounamu is a generic term referring to different types of stone that are nephrite or bowenite in origin. The non-specific grouping of this resource under the term pounamu can then be broken down into specific types based on colouration. Some of the better-known sub types of pounamu include inanga, kahotea, kahurangi, kawakawa, koko-tangiwai and totoweka (Beck, 1984, pp. 8-12). To Maori, pounamu was a highly treasured resource; highly sought after and sparse in its distribution, as pounamu is only found within a comparatively small geographic area on the West Coast of the South Island. According to evidence presented to the Waitangi Tribunal, pounamu was an important resource for South Westland Maori as it was a major source of mana (Maika Mason, Ngai Tahu Papers, Greymouth Nov. 1987, p. 2). Within the study region the Westland and Whakatipu pounamu fields provided southern tribes with access to deposits of this prized resource. The use of Pounamu in the region archaeologically can be traced back to the 14th century with artefacts being found in the Dart River area (Hamel, 2001, p. 51).

There are several different versions that trace the origin of pounamu, but the most popular centre around Poutini the personified version of nephrite:

The personified form of grindstone¹ known as Hine-tua-hoanga lived with Poutini, the personified form of nephrite often referred to as a fish. The two became enemies and a voyager and resident of Hawaiki,

Ngahue, fled overseas with his fish Poutini. They arrived at New Zealand and settled at Tuhua. The lady of the grindstone (Hine-tua-hoanga) followed Ngahue and Poutini to Tuhua, and the pair were once more forced to leave. They travelled southwards but were met with similar rebuffs from other personified forms of different stone types, and eventually Ngahue found a refuge for Poutini in the bed of the Arahura River on the west coast of the South Island (Beck, 1984, p. 76).

In another legend it is said that:

Poutini once abducted a woman, Waitaiki, from the North Island and fled south pursued by her husband. He hid his captive in the bed of the Arahura River but Waitaiki's husband pursued them. Poutini transformed Waitaiki into his own spiritual essence – poumanu – and fled down river to the sea. Waitaiki became the 'mother lode' of all pounamu (Davis, 1990a, p. 83).²

In a Ngai Tahu account of the source of pounamu by Maurice Grey, pounamu originates from a taniwha:

The source of pounamu is the resting-place of a great taniwha (supernatural creature) of the sea. This taniwha was the son of

¹ The lady of the grindstone is the personification of Sandstone, which was used as the main abrasive in the manufacture of greenstone artefacts.

² for a full account of this story see Davis, T. (1990). *He korero purakau mo nga taunahanahatanga a nga tupuna / Place names of the ancestors* "Poutini: A guardian Taniwha pp. 83-5.

Takaroa (God of the Seas) by Te Anu-ma-Toa. The taniwha had travelled to Aotearoa along and through Te tai ki Te Moana-Nui-a-Kiwa (the tide of the ocean). Pounamu became from the vomit of this taniwha, turned to stone on striking cold air (Grey, cited Evans, 1990, p.27).

Another variation which traces the origin of pounamu and the different varieties found comes from a version told by Tikao to Herries Beattie:

Tama ki te Rangi in the Tairea canoe, arrived very early in the South Island, the karakia for this canoe was not right, and although it crossed the stormy sea, the crew was turned to pounamu and it was wrecked on the coast of the land it reached. This was Westland, and when she was lost a great wave carried her with a rush up the Arahura River, where at a place called Hohonu, she lies turned into a block of pounamu...each member (except Tama) of the crew was turned into a different variety of Greenstone (Beattie, 1980, p. 60).

Another version centres on Tamatea Pokai Whenua:

According to another story the wives of the famous explorer Tamatea Pokai Whenua, deserted him. The canoe they journeyed in capsized at Arahura. The drowned women were transformed into green jade (Taylor, 1952, p. 186).

In the Mount Aspiring region pounamu was found sporadically in the headwaters of Lake Whakatipu, the Caples, Routeburn and Dart Valleys and the West Coast. The Wakatipu pounamu field supplied southern tribes with large quantities of the highly sought after inanga, making the region important in cultural, historical and archaeological terms. The location at the head of Lake Whakatipu where Ngai Tahu, and successive tribes, worked this greenstone deposit was until recently, forgotten or unrevealed. I prefer the idea that Ngai Tahu kept the location a secret until its 'rediscovery' by Tom Trevor in 1970. Up until this point there had been several accounts by Maori that hinted at the existence of a large greenstone quarry at the head of Lake Whakatipu.

An example of this can be seen in an account told to Herries Beattie which outlined the landmarks that were used to find this treasured resource: "Te Koroka, where they got greenstone, is north of Wakatipu. Taumaro is the name of the mountains between Wakatipu-wai-tai and Wakatipu-wai-maori, and Te Koroka is one of those heights (Beattie cited in Brailsford, 1996, p. 14).

The peak of Koroka (Cosmos Peak) opposite Pikirakatahi was used as a tohu (marker) for Maori seeking the resource (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.70).

Koroka marked the site of a major pounamu quarry (fig 5.5) located about 15km up the Dart River.

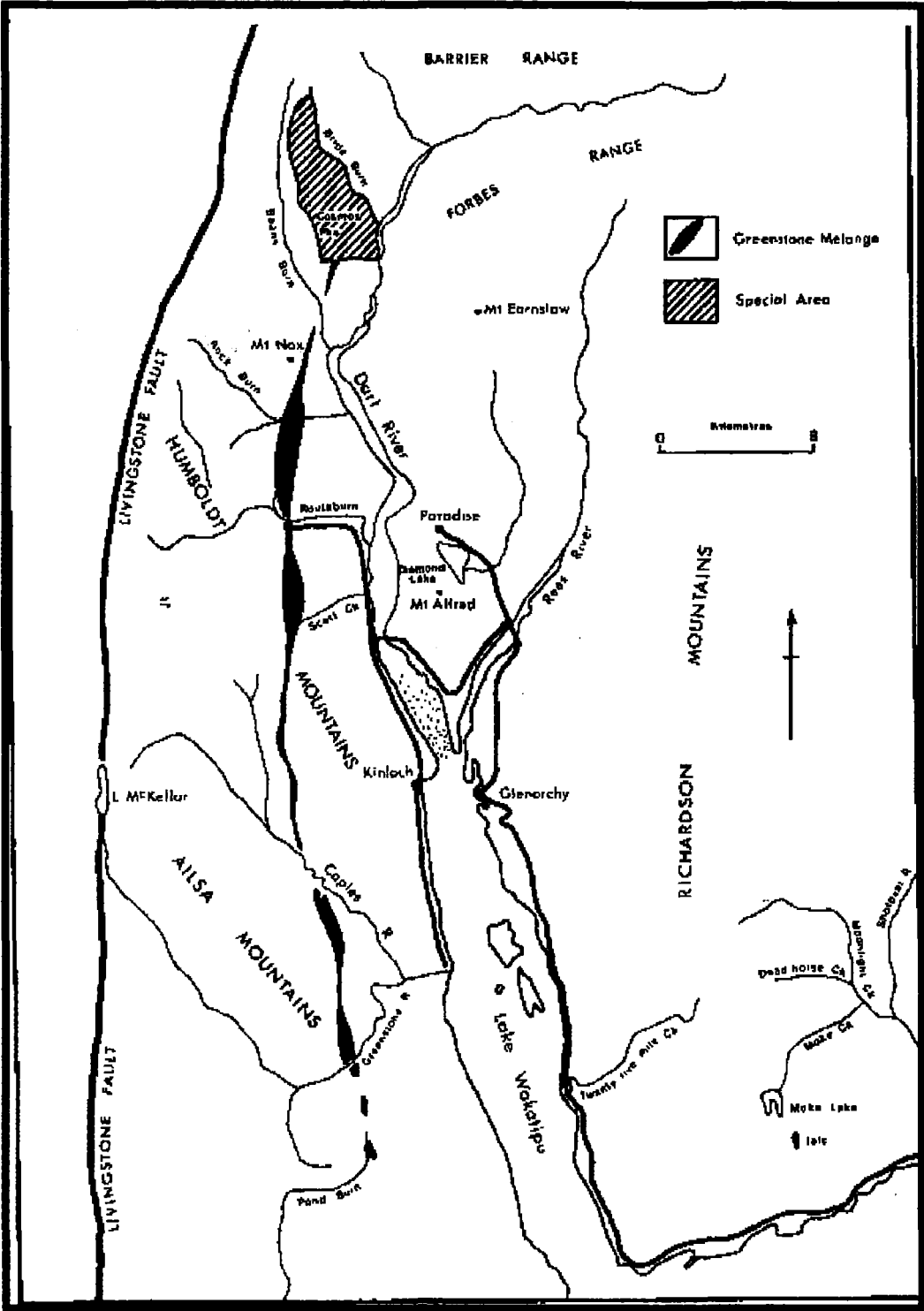


Figure. 5.5 Location of greenstone melange and protected special area within the Wakatipu jade field. Source: Beck, 1984.

A continuous structural belt known as the greenstone melange is the reason for the presence of pounamu here and for its sporadic occurrences in the headwaters of the Routeburn and Caples Rivers. The landscape of the Slip Stream area and the greenstone deposit in Waitaha tradition is connected to the story of Tumuaki. The tale surrounds Tumuaki, a warrior who became a mountain. Upon wounding his finger Tumuaki committed the forbidden act of putting his finger in his mouth. It is in the mouth of the warrior where the greenstone lies (Pers. com. M. Nutira 2002 (Waitaha); Beck, 1984, p.55).

Other variations on the Tumuaki legend also describe the transformation of a man into a mountain somewhere on the West Coast. The two following accounts were described by Taylor (1952):

The mountain Tumuaki represents the slave of Tamatea Pokai Whenua who was turned into a hill for breaking the rules of tapu when cooking food (Taylor, 1952, p. 186).

Tumuaki according to another version about 1540A.D., took a part of the Nga Rauru tribe up the Arahura River to obtain greenstone. He commenced breaking stone, and not being accustomed to such work, hit his hand, putting his fingers into his mouth to allay the pain he inadvertently broke the tapu attached to the sacred greenstone. For his misdeed he was turned into a mountain (Taylor, 1952, p. 186-7).

During the 'rediscovery' of the Slip Stream area in the 1970's, a number of individuals involved in an expedition to the site, remarked upon the mountain's (Te koroka/Cosmos Peak) remarkable resemblance to a human person lying down (ie. Tumuaki):

While analysing our photographs taken on an earlier expedition a most astounding feature was recognised: the profile of a large outcrop was like a human face. We pursued this by matching up adjoining photos and found to our amazement the convincing realistic image of an enormous person lying down (Beck, 1984, p.55).

After the 'rediscovery' of the site in 1970 steps were taken to preserve the location because of its archaeological and scientific value and its immense cultural importance. As a result of the discovery of the Slip Stream site, an area of 1 618 hectares was placed in a special management area within Mount Aspiring National Park in 1976 (Beck, 1984, p 53). Since then the area has also been specifically recognised in the Ngai Tahu Deed of Settlement as a Topuni area.

On the West Coast from Martins Bay to Haast, Maori utilised nephritic sources (fig 5.5). Beck (1984, pp. 42-3) listed the following as nephrite and semi-nephrite sources: Jackson, Martyr, Cascade, Hope, Spoon, Gorge, Pyke, Red Pyke and Barrington Rivers; Buff and Callery Creeks; and the sea beach between Cascade and Barn Bay. The source of these greenstone deposits was the Red Mountains located to the east of the Livingstone fault, between the Jackson and Pyke Rivers.

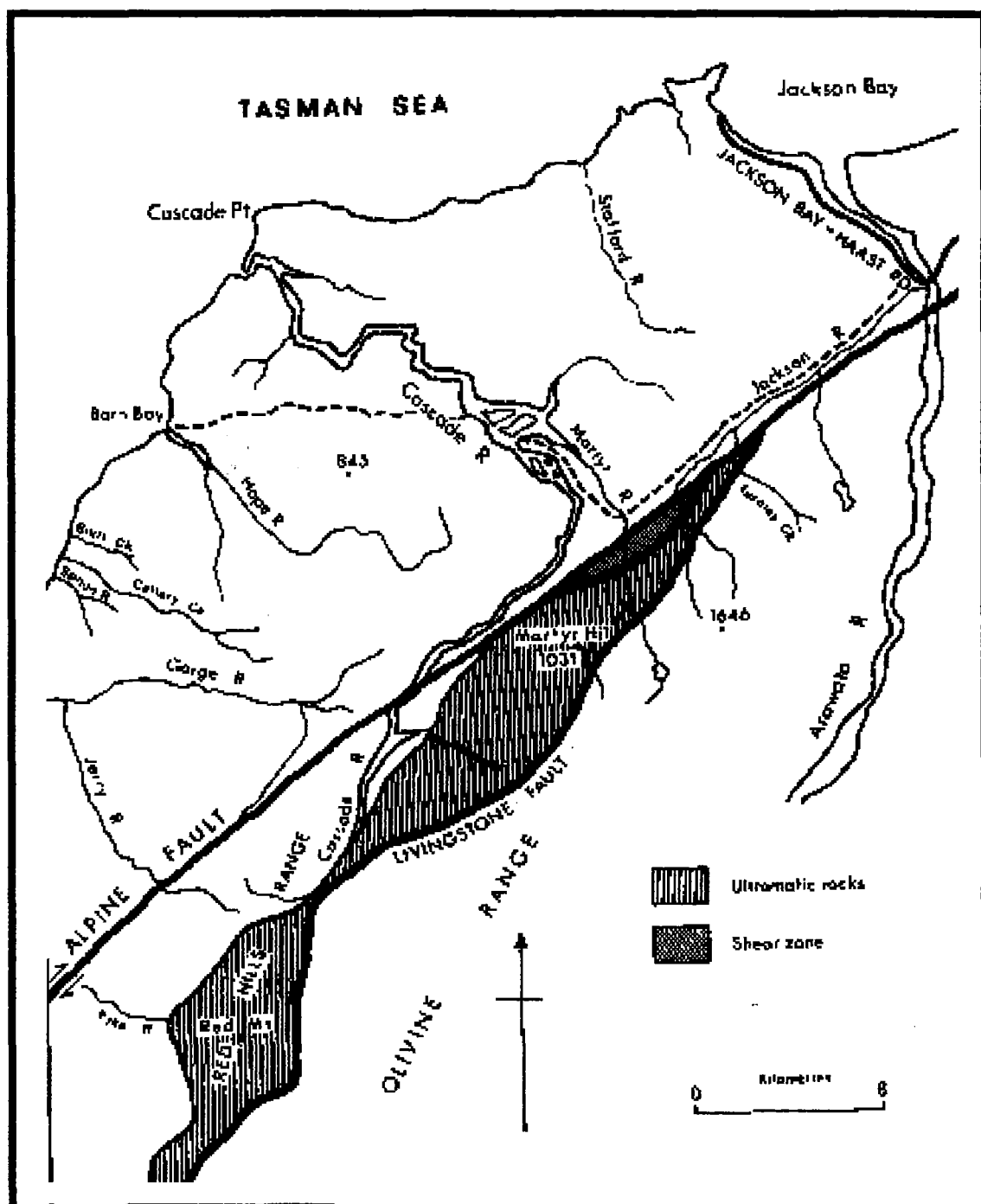


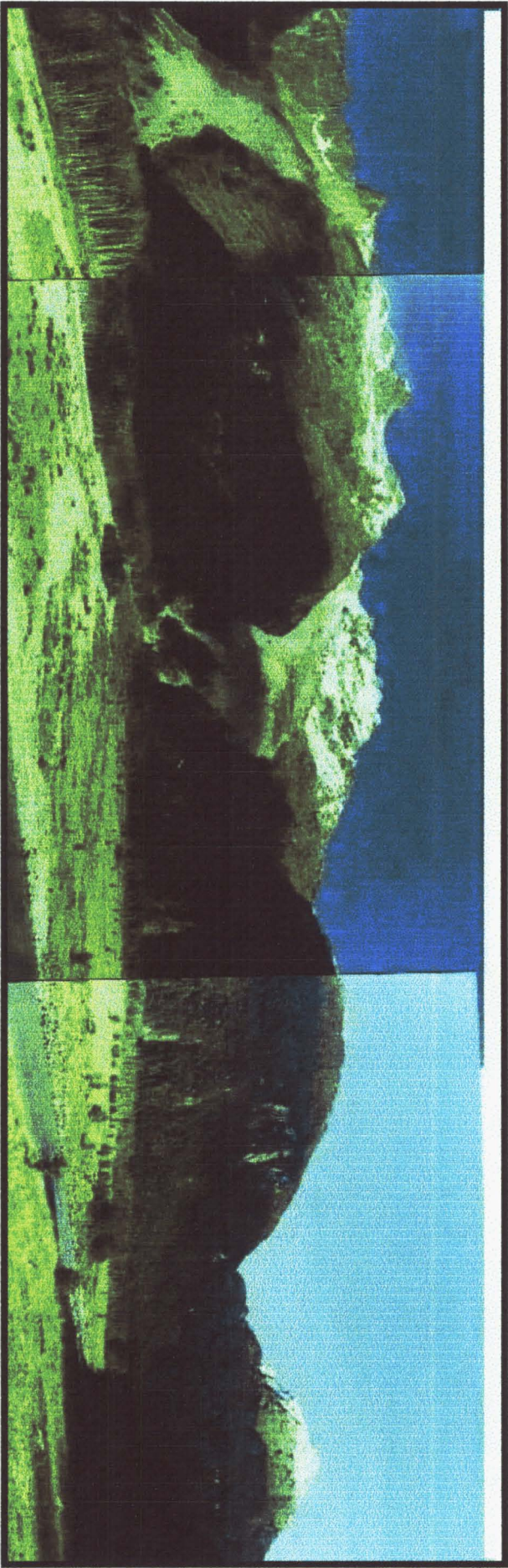
Figure. 5.6 Location of Westland jade field.

Source: Beck, 1984.

Photo 5.8

Koroka / Cosmos Peak
(The Slipstream area)

Source: M. Quinn 2001



For Maori, Pounamu was the main motivating factor for transalpine travel. The Tasman Sea made travel by canoe a hazardous undertaking, therefore travel, was to an extent, restricted to the coastline, river valleys and mountain passes (Hooker, 1986, p. 1). As a result, a series of track networks through the alpine passes of the Southern Alps developed. The Mount Aspiring region formed part of this larger network of huarahi (trails) that connected Otago and Southland with the West Coast (Brailsford, 1996).

In the Mount Aspiring region these trails are confined primarily to four major routes between the three major lakes (Whakatipu, Wanaka, Hawea), the regions pounamu sources, mahinga kai sites and the West Coast. The first of these major routes, the Haast Pass, connects Makarora with Haast. The second, the Maori Saddle connects the Okuru River with the Blue River. The other two major routes, the Harris and Greenstone Saddles, connects the Hollyford River valley with the Routeburn and Greenstone River valleys (Brailsford, 1996).

Since 1997, Ngai Tahu Whanui interests in pounamu have been protected under the Pounamu Vesting Act 1997. The Act enables the return of ownership of pounamu to Ngai Tahu Whanui. The return of ownership of pounamu recognises that Ngai Tahu never intended to surrender ownership of the resource. It was also an act of good faith on behalf of the Crown as a pre-cursor to the Crown's settlement offer.

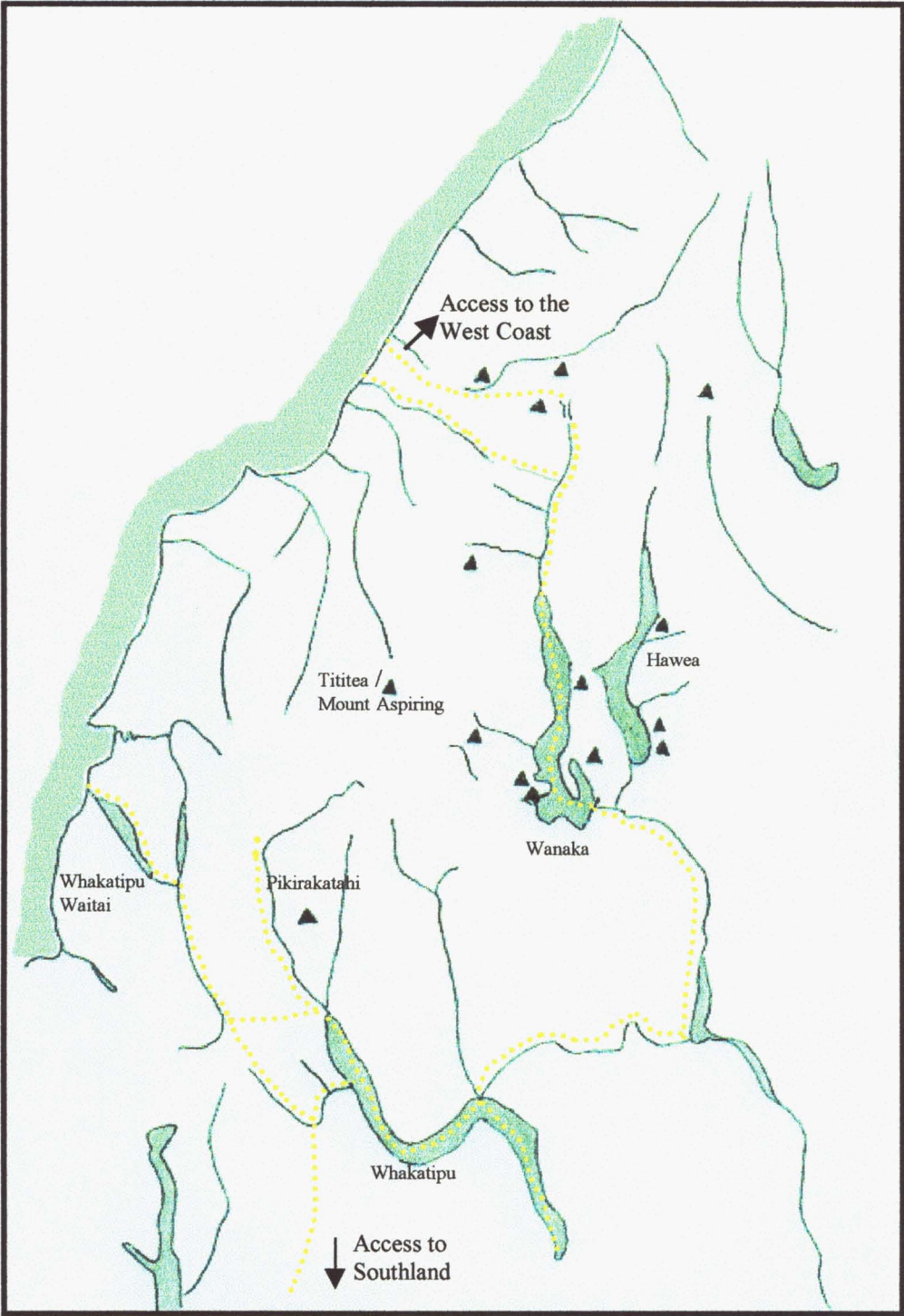


Figure 5.7 Huarahi / Greenstone Trails in study region

Hollyford, Greenstone and Routeburn Valleys

To the south of Mount Aspiring National Park lies Fiordland National Park. According to tradition it was Tu Te Rakiwhanoa who carved the fiords out of the raised side of the wrecked Waka o Aoraki (the South Island) in an effort to make it habitable for humans. Over successive generations the Hollyford, Greenstone and Routeburn Valleys have provided iwi with important access routes between Fiordland and the Mount Aspiring region.

Kotuku (Martins Bay) at the head of Whakatipu Waitai (Lake McKerrow) was the southernmost settlement of the West Coast pounamu trails. Kotuku provided access to Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) and Poison Bay, locations where koko-tangiwai, a type of pounamu, could be found. The settlement was also an important staging post for travel into the Lake Wakatipu area via the Hollyford Valley (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.69).

The Hollyford Valley lies in the shadow of Tutoko. The mountain stands as guardian over the waters of Whakatipu Waitai. The original name for the mountain has been lost and it now bears the name of a Ngai Tahu chief who lived at Kotuku during the 1800's (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.69).

Travelling from Kotuku, Maori would canoe across Whakatipu Waitai, the westernmost creation of Rakaihautu, to the Pyke-Hollyford confluence. From here the journey would proceed up Whakatipu Ka Tuka (Hollyford River) from where access could be gained to either Tarahaka Whakatipu (Harris Saddle) or the Greenstone Valley.



Photo 5.9

Whakatipu Waitai/Lake McKerrow Photo: M. Quinn 2000

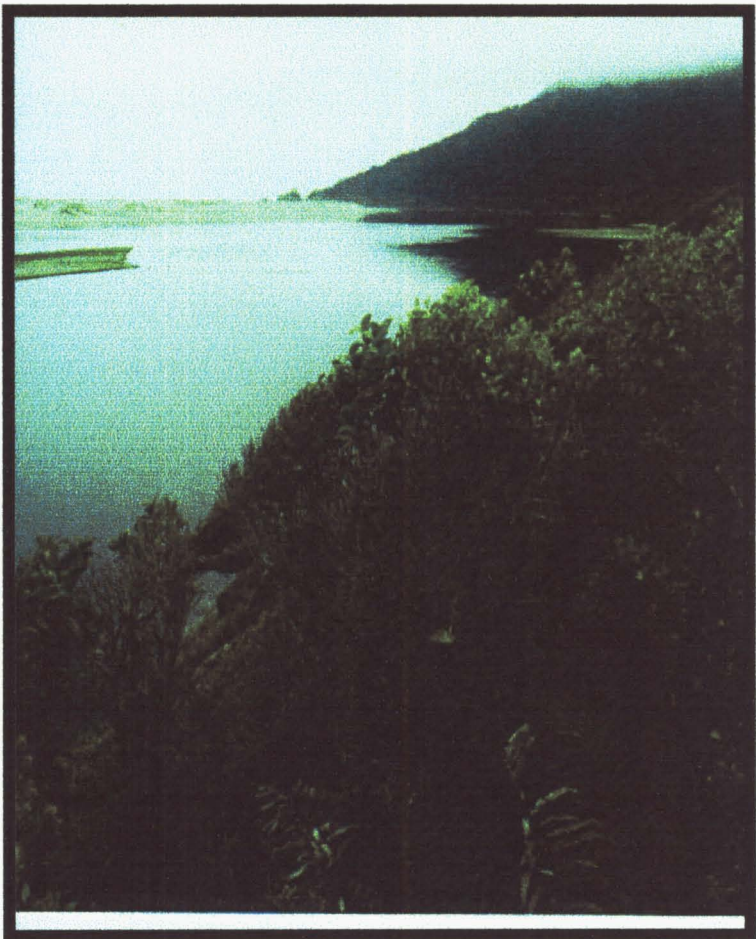


Photo 5.10

Kapao/
The Hollyford River
Mouth

Photo: M. Quinn
2000



Photo 5.11

Whakatipu ka tuka/The Hollyford River

Photo: M. Quinn 2000

Photo 5.12

The Greenstone Valley

Photo: M. Quinn 2000



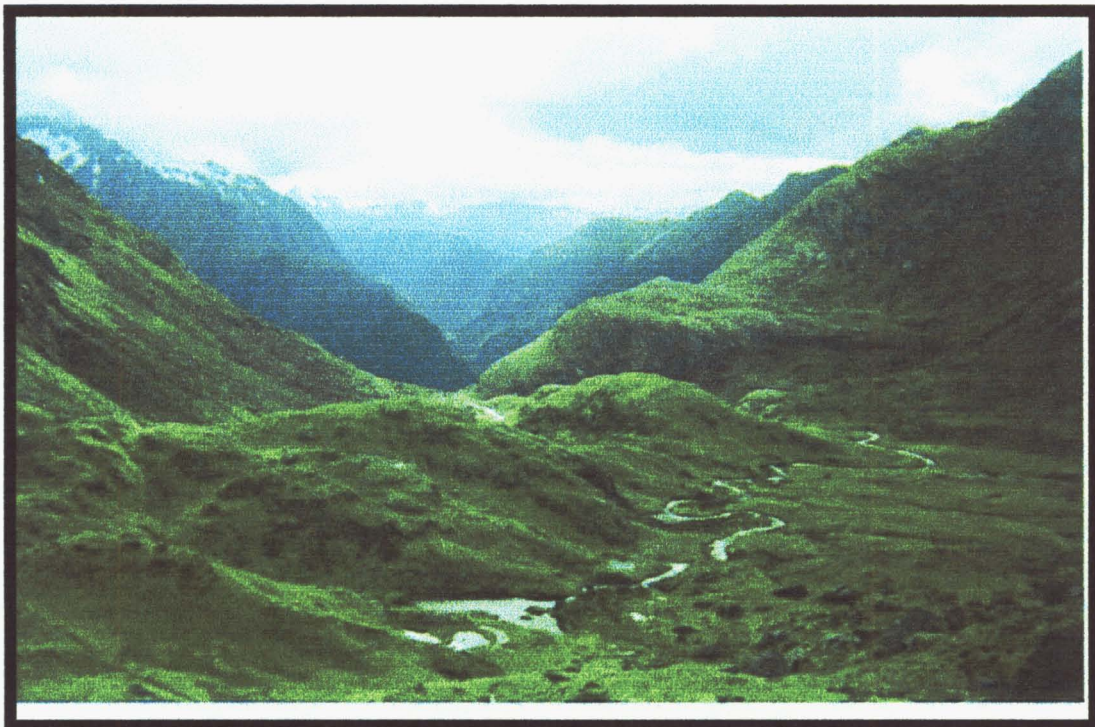


Photo 5.13

Looking down the Routeburn Valley from Tarahaka Whakatipu/The Harris Saddle. Photo: M. Quinn 2000



Photo 5.14

Te Komana/The
Routeburn River

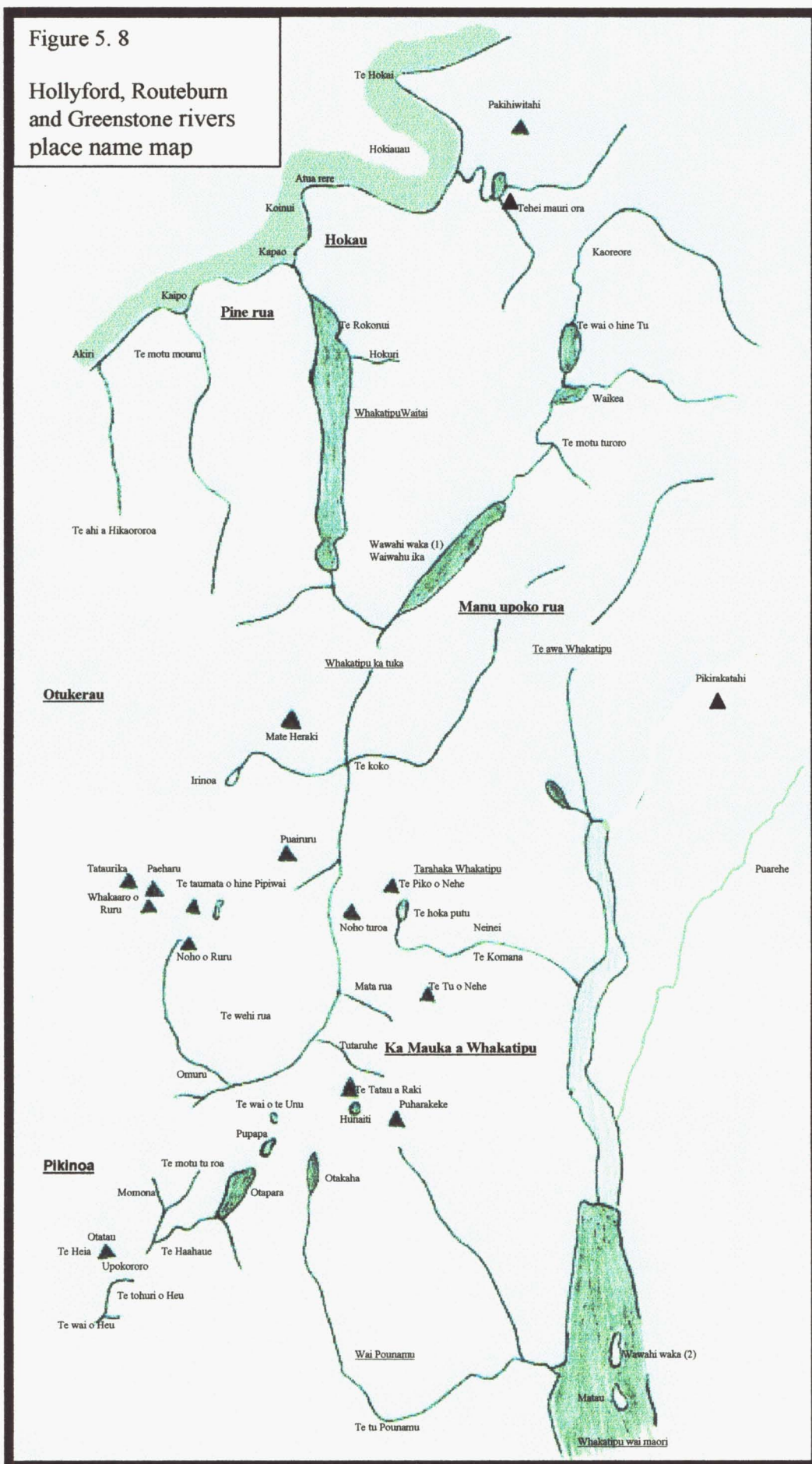
Photo: M. Quinn
2000

The Greenstone Valley was an important route for Maori travellers. It formed part of a network of trails connecting Otago and Southland with the West Coast (Te Tai Poutini). Originating from Foveaux Strait the trail wound up the Waiau Valley, branched off at the Maraora River where it journeyed past the Mavora lakes over a low saddle to reach the Greenstone Valley. From the Greenstone Valley, Maori could either continue down the valley to Lake Whakatipu or travel up the valley past Lake McKellar and down to the Hollyford River (Brailsford, 1996).

One tale that relates to this region claimed that the area was the abode of ten malevolent atua. Each of these atua were slain by Raki. Following his labour Raki stopped at Te Tautau a Raki (Key Summit) and recounted the death of each giant to ensure that none had been missed. To this day it is said that certain mountains in this region are the physical remains of each of these tipua. (Beattie 1949; pp.14-15)

Figure 5. 8

Hollyford, Routeburn
and Greenstone rivers
place name map



The Lakes Area: Whakatipu, Wanaka and Hawea.

Directly east of the Aspiring region lie several freshwater lakes that are of importance to Ngai Tahu Whanui tradition. These bodies of water are Nga Puna Wai Karikari o Rakaihautu, the wells dug by Rakaihautu. In Waitaha tradition Rakaihautu led an expedition into the interior of the South Island. During the course of this journey Rakaihautu named and shaped several waterways with his ko (digging tool), Tu Whakaroria. The names of Lakes Whakatipu, Wanaka and Hawea all originate from this legendary journey (Beattie, 1945, p.35; Wilson, 1990, p.90).

The tradition of 'Nga Puna Wai Karikari o Rakaihautu' which tells how the principal lakes of Te Wai Pounamu which were dug by the rangatira (chief) Rakaihautu. Rakaihautu was the captain of the canoe, Uruao, which brought the Waitaha tribe to New Zealand. According to tradition, Rakaihautu beached his canoe at (Whakatu) (Nelson). From Whakatu, Rakaihautu divided the new arrivals in two with his son taking a party to explore the coastline southwards, and Rakaihautu taking another southwards by an inland route. On his journey inland Rakaihautu used his famous ko (a tool similar to a spade) to dig what are now the principal lakes of Te Wai Pounamu (NTCS Act 1998, s. 12.93).

Whakatipu-wai-maori.

As noted earlier the name 'Whakatipu-wai-maori' originates from the expeditions of Rakaihautu. In an account recounted to Herries Beattie (1994b), the legend goes:

Whakatipu was the most difficult lake to dig because of its great depth, its rocky surroundings, and the height of the mountains around it. It took the utmost efforts of the spade combined with many karakia (invocations) to excavate the hole for this august body of water (Beattie, 1994b, p. 35).

There are, however, other traditions that relate to the formation of the lake. One of these tells how the bed of the lake was created:

When the people known as Te Rapuwai came upon the giant tipua (ogre) Matau as he lay there in a deep sleep. Matau had been responsible for the disappearance of many small hunting parties and had entrapped a beautiful maiden, Manata. His demise was finally brought about when Manata escaped from him and returned to her lover Matakauri. The villagers, armed with the knowledge that Matau always fell into a deep sleep when the North-West wind blew, descended on his lair, heaped dry wood around him and set it alight. The rise and fall of the lake level is said to be caused by the beating heart of the giant, who remains at the bottom of the lake (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.107).



Photo 5.15

Whakatipu-wai-maori

Source: M. Quinn 2001

For Maori the key attraction of the lake was the access it provided to pounamu. Besides this obvious attraction, Whakatipu-wai-maori was also seen as an important seasonal destination for hapu from Otago and Murihiku. Apart from supporting seasonal villages and nohoanga sites (traditional places for gathering food and other natural resources), the lake also supported permanent settlements, such as the kaika (village) of Tahuna near present-day Queenstown; Te Kirikiri Pa, located near the present-day Queenstown gardens; a Ngati Mamoe kaika near the Kawarau Falls called O Te Roto; and another called Takerehaka near Kingston (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.107).

Haki Te Kura, the daughter of the Ngati Mamoe chief Tu Wiri Roa, is remembered for her feat of swimming across the lake from Tahuna. As Beattie explains, her name is associated with several landmarks in the area:

Her name is famous on this part, for she was the first woman to swim across Lake Whakatipu. ... She set out in the darkness that precedes daybreak and steered her course by the Cecil and Walter Peaks, whose tops in the dawning light she could see twinkling and winking at her like two eyes; hence their name Ka-kamu-a-hakitekura (the twinklings seen by Hakitekura). She landed on Refuge Point and lit a fire, and that is why the rocks are black there to this day and why we call this place Te-ahi-a-Hakitekura (the fire of Hakitekura). ... To mark her achievement the mountain where she looked back across the lake was named Te-taumata-o-Hakitekura (the eyrie of Hakitekura), and her name is also commemorated in the name of the Kowarau Peninsula, Tenuku-o-Hakitekura (the place of Haki-te-kura) (Beattie, 1994b, pp. 28-9).

Whakatipu-wai-māori is also perceived as being an important source of freshwater as it is fed by hukawai (melt waters) from the mountains. According to traditional classifications by Ngāi Tahu these waters are recognised as having the highest level of purity. As such the lake is regarded as a puna (spring) which sustains many of the ecosystems that are important to Ngāi Tahu (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.107).

Wanaka

Wanaka is another one of the lakes that is referred to in 'Nga Puna Wai Karikari o Rakaihautu'.

The name 'Wanaka' is thought to be a variant of the word 'wananga', referring to the ancient schools of learning. In these schools Ngai Tahu tohunga (men of learning) were taught whakapapa (genealogies) which stretched back over a hundred generations; and karakia (incantations) for innumerable situations. All of this learning was committed to memory (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.106). However, Taylor (1952, p. 107) records Wai haka ata as an alternative name for the lake meaning 'mirror waters'.

Hawea

Hawea is also referred to in the tradition of 'Nga Puna Wai Karikari o Rakaihautu'. The name of Hawea is thought to have come from the name of an ancestor of the Waitaha hapu, Kati Hawea. This ancestor is Hawea ki te Rangi who was a member of Rakaihautu's party. (NTCS Act 1998, s.12.105).

In addition to Whakatipu-wai-maori, both Wanaka and Hawea supported an array of permanent settlements as well as seasonal villages and nohoanga sites (Figure.5.6).

These settlements also played a part in the famous raid of Te Puoho in 1836. Te Puoho and his taua (raiding party) departed from Golden Bay and traveled some 1500km down through the West Coast and the interior of the South Island. On this journey Te Puoho travelled through the Mount Aspiring region by way of Tioripatea (Haast Pass) in order to gain access to the southern lands of Ngai Tahu Whanui. On his journey Te Puoho raided several of the villages around Hawea and Wanaka, before his eventual defeat by Ngai Tahu at Tuturau in Mirihiku (Southland) (Anderson, 1986).

There are a number of stories associated with the lakes. For example, on the eastern side of Hawea lies Turihuka (Breast Hill or Mount Dingle). Turihuka was a wife of the celebrated chief Tamatea-pokai-whenua (Tamatea who travels around lands). It is said that when Tamatea's party was exploring southern New Zealand, Turihuka ascended a high ridge overlooking the lake, where she was overcome by the cold and therefore perished. The mountain that bears her grave now carries her name (Beattie, 1994b, p.41).

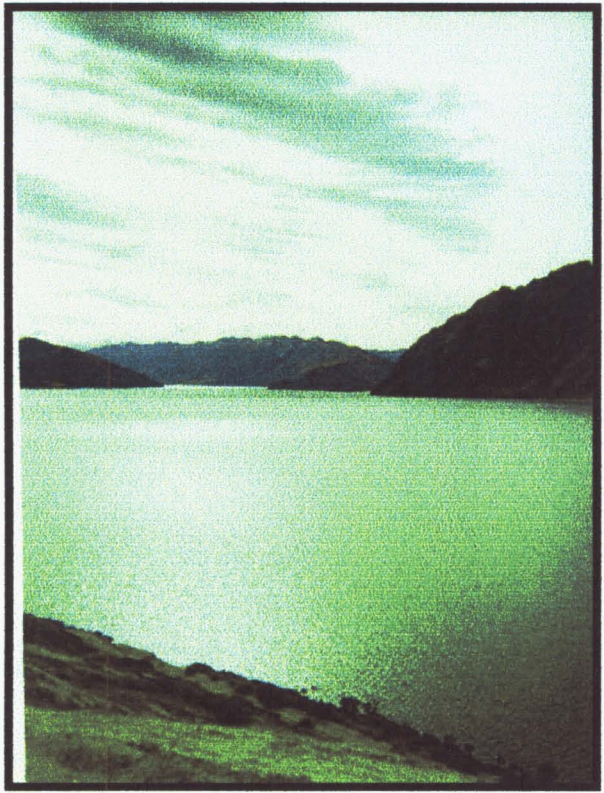


Photo 5.16

Hawea

Source: M. Quinn 2000



Photo.5.17 Wanaka
Source: M. Quinn 2001

5.5 Summary

“Without land they have no mana, without mana they have nothing”
(Henare Rakihia Tau, opening submission for the claimants, Ngai Tahu
Papers, Rangiora, 1987, p. 4). ”

This chapter illustrated a number of important connections that Ngai Tahu Whanui has with the overall landscape of the Mount Aspiring region, as well as with individual water bodies, mountains and specific resources. For Ngai Tahu Whanui, the significance of the landscape is found in the substance it brings to cultural identity. To Ngai Tahu Whanui the significance of these ‘Maori places’ (be it a mountain; or a river; or burial ground) is assessed through their ability to create a living link back to their culture. McLaren (1988) in the following quote explains the nature of this relationship. “Although our pa may have disappeared from the face of the land, the bones of our tupuna in urupa – some known and others hidden, up and down the coast, bind us inextricably to the land forever” (evidence of Gordon McLaren, Ngai Tahu Papers, Hokitika, 15 April 1988, p. 4).

In terms of Ngai Tahu Whanui geography, a large part of the relationship between the tribe and the landscape revolves around how certain topographic features contribute toward a sense of place for tribal members. A major aspect of this sense of place is how the landscape adds to the feeling of cultural identity for Ngai Tahu Whanui. This involves having an intimate knowledge of places and regions of traditional and spiritual significance to

Ngai Tahu Whanui. Without this intimate knowledge of these landmarks and their meaning to the tribe, these places would then only represent analogous space. The following quote from Albert Te Naihi-McLaren (1988) expresses this Ngai Tahu Whanui, 'sense of place' by illustrating the role of specific landmarks and placenames in promoting cultural identity:

My Te Naihi tupuna give their name to five major features of south Westland...As the eldest Te Naihi to still bear the name among the South Westland hapu, I am proud to be able to whakapapa back to the land of my tupuna (evidence of Albert Te Naihi-McLaren, Ngai Tahu Papers, Hokitika, 15 April 1988, p. 4).

For Ngai Tahu Whanui the landscape is an essential element for the maintenance and continuity of identity and culture. Over approximately 25 generations, the ancestors of Ngai Tahu have forged a relationship with the landscape of the South Island. Despite many traditional practices disappearing, Ngai Tahu Whanui cultural identity is still linked to these 'traditional places'. These links to the landscape have been retained through the use of whakapapa, establishing them as tangata whenua and therefore strengthening their bonds with the land. Tipene O'Regan (1999) addresses the significance of this relationship between the landscape and whakapapa:

At the core of the Maori view of land is whakapapa or genealogy. It is whakapapa which connects people to each other and which connects people to the land. Our whakapapa connects us to our mythology and our mythology is rooted in the land and sea (O'Regan, 1999, p.14).

He further states:

In telling the stories there is a sense of possession and of being possessed, of belonging. That view is viewed through the prism of descent – whakapapa that goes back to the gods that made the landscape and the ancestors who dreamed them into existence as their way of coming to terms with it (O'Regan, 1999, p. 15).

Today, placenames found throughout the region serve as a tangible reminder of Ngai Tahu's relationship with the landscape. It is because of these tangible aspects of Ngai Tahu's past that the landmarks in the Mount Aspiring region continue to be important for runanga located in Otago, Murihiku and beyond. This intimate knowledge of the resources of the region continues to be held by whanau and hapu; and is regarded as taonga because it represents the links between the cosmological world; and past, present and future generations. The histories contained within placenames, and the tangible aspects of the landscape reinforce tribal identity and continuity between the generations by documenting the events that shaped Te Wai Pounamu and Ngai Tahu Whanui.

Ngai Tahu Whanui is inextricably linked to the landscape of Mount Aspiring National Park and the surrounding region because of the presence of 'specific places'. Ngai Tahu Whanui are the tangata whenua, literally the people of the land as their cultural identity is embedded within the landscape. The following proverb from the Wanganui illustrates the depth of this reliance on the landscape more eloquently than my words can. The proverb is as

follows; "ko au te awa ko te awa ko au", meaning "I am the river and the river is me". The sentiments of this proverb can just as easily be transplanted into the South Island to describe the relationship between Ngai Tahu Whanui and the landscape. The proverb goes straight to the heart of the matter by signifying how integrated Maori are with their natural surroundings.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

"Te Ha o taku maunga, Ko taku manawa"

The breath of my mountain is my heart

- Maori Proverb -

This thesis intended to research some specific aspects regarding the history of the New Zealand landscape. This section addresses the outcomes of my three specific research aims:

- Identify and describe selected aspects of Ngai Tahu Whanui's geographical, historical and spiritual relationship with the landscape.
- Identify how the relationship with landscape has changed over time.
- Identify and describe the relationship that Maori has formed with the Department of Conservation as the major manager of lands (mountains, forests and water bodies) of prime importance to Maori.

6.1 Identify and describe Ngai Tahu Whanui's geographical, historical and spiritual relationship with the landscape.

The research was designed to explore the nature of a location, in this case the landscape of the Mount Aspiring region in terms of the model described by Matunga and Blackford (1993) and sense of place as described by geographers such as Tuan (1980, 1977, 1974, 1971), Relph (1987, 1985, 1981, 1976) and Eyles (1985). By identifying and understanding the intangible

aspects of place, such as the 'sense of place', the landscape can be viewed as more than just a point in space. When observing the landscape there must be an awareness of the layers of perception and meaning that are already ascribed to the landscape by different cultural groups. This meaning, expressed by geographers as a sense of place, is how people feel about certain places. The sense of place expressed by Ngai Tahu Whanui as a whole and as sub tribal groupings is the product of their identity, history, culture and mythology.

From the research it is apparent that identify formation for Ngai Tahu Whanui is linked to the physical features contained within the landscape. For Ngai Tahu Whanui their sense of place is expressed in a way that gives character and meaning to the landscape around them. The meanings that Ngai Tahu Whanui assigned to physical features became superimposed on the physical landscape through the cumulative influence of successive occupants. For Ngai Tahu Whanui visible points of reference in the landscape, such as mountains, provided the tribe with important visible manifestations of their identity. These physical features are considered to be 'Nga Waahi Taonga' (tribally treasured places). These locations provide Ngai Tahu Whanui with visible evidence of their ownership and possession. The landscape is also used as an aid to memory, using the physical attributes of a location to augment the memory of tribal traditions. Landmarks such as Mt Aspiring/Tititea and Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi are examples of this, as they possess unique concentrations of tribal history. The cultural landscapes of Maori and Ngai Tahu Whanui exist because of the subjective modification of

the landscape. In contrast to early cultural geographers like Sauer (1925) who emphasised the physical modification of the environment, the cultural landscape of the Mount Aspiring region for Ngai Tahu Whanui is subjectively created through the application of oral history and the addition of placenames to the physical features found in the environment.

A key point discussed in Chapter Four and evident in the research was the link between the landscape and cultural identity. A key component of this relationship between place and cultural identity for Ngai Tahu Whanui in the Mount Aspiring region was the naming of places. The naming of these places followed the pattern that Tau (2000) analysed. The major landforms and topography of the park were placed into a mythological framework that related to stories of creation. Other less prominent landforms took on the names of ancestors from canoe traditions and finally smaller features in the landscape took on names dating back to the Ngai Tahu migration into the South Island. Another pattern relating to the distribution of placenames across the study region showed that the placenames related to mythological events were limited in their distribution, confined mainly to interior of the Mount Aspiring National Park. The far greater distribution of placenames is associated with human travel along trade routes and waterways.

Within the study region, placenames were used to commemorate the deeds of ancestors and to explain away various types of natural phenomena. For example the 'Te Waka o Aoraki' myth explained the presence of the Southern Alps and many of the other landforms of the South Island and

therefore the Mount Aspiring region. As indicated in Chapter Four these myths and legends played an integral part in Maori society as they helped identify rights of occupation and resource use. This remains true to this day as oral history is used by Ngai Tahu Whanui to identify who has manawhenua over what resources in any particular geographic area. In the study region this was demonstrated through ownership issues relating to pounamu. While several papatipu runanga and whanau roopu have a vested interest in the Mount Aspiring region, the ownership and kaitiaki responsibilities for pounamu has been vested along traditional lines to the two papatipu runanga groups found on the West Coast.

Another characteristic discussed in Chapter Four that was also evident in the study region related to the personification of natural phenomena. As with other tribes throughout the country the landforms of Mount Aspiring region had many stories related to them. One of the more evident uses of personification in the study region related to the story of Tumuaki, the mountain he represents also being the site of an ancient pounamu quarry.

Traditional Ngai Tahu Whanui geography, relied totally upon oral histories. The retention of knowledge associated with these oral histories stressed the importance of using memory to locate oneself within the landscape, and as a method for preserving the traditions of the tribe. The landmarks found within tribal boundaries were not viewed as being separate from one another, but formed part of a spiritual and historical network that overlayed the environment. Carmichael, Herbert & Reeves (1994) stated that

these individual features in the landscape formed part of a network of sacred places that, when combined, had their meanings expanded exponentially.

The connections between these places were provided through the oral histories and traditions of the tribe. These stories helped to structure and interpret geographically related memory and experience. In essence Ngai Tahu Whanui used words and stories in conjunction with specific landmarks to produce a sense of place. The oral traditions of Ngai Tahu Whanui provided a medium by which the meanings attributed to specific features in the landscape could be shared with other members of the tribe. This allowed tribal members to meaningfully understand places to which they may never have been.

The physical landmarks found in the landscape provided the structural framework upon which to place the foundations of oral lore. The oral history of Ngai Tahu Whanui brought these places to life. These oral traditions encapsulated human experience, providing a strong sense of local history and identity; and provided people with a sense of belonging. Landforms were used to place local history into a tangible form. For example, various landmarks became associated with certain ancestors, resources and events. In this way landmarks marked physical boundaries on the land and inscribed order and meaning upon the mind.

Ngai Tahu Whanui employed many devices to reinforce the relationship between the tribal group and the land. Oral devices included:

song, proverb, chant, placename, genealogy, myth and historical narrative. The following extract from Russell (2000, p. 197) sets out the importance of these devices to Ngai Tahu Whanui. "Kai Tahu...could through whakapapa, waiata, whakatauki and korero i nehera, trace their connections to the landscape over almost the whole of Te Wai Pounamu, going back at least 25 generations" (Russell, 2000, p. 197).

Genealogical devices or whakapapa were used primarily for providing a foundation to maintain the relationship between people and the land. However, whakapapa were also linked to other aspects of Maori society such as kaitiakitanga, which helped determine access to resources, philosophies and responsibilities for people. This, in turn, was linked to rangatiratanga, which in turn is linked to manawhenua and so on.

It was also apparent that this 'place-based identity' was manifested at different scales. By this I mean that as a tribal body, principal landmarks from throughout Ngai Tahu's rohe were recognised as being of high significance to tribal identity. Examples of these types of landmarks in the study area included mountains such as Mt Aspiring and bodies of water such as Lake Wanaka. At a smaller scale, and of no less importance, were landmarks that were of significance at the hapu level. These landmarks are more hapu and takiwa specific than the larger iwi important landmarks. This pattern illustrates

the idea that landscapes can express many levels of sense of place simultaneously even within the same tribal body.

6.2 Identify how Ngai Tahu Whanui's relationship with landscape has changed over time.

Over the years the nature of Ngai Tahu Whanui's relationship with the landscape has changed. In pre-European times Ngai Tahu Whanui led a semi-nomadic lifestyle as food resources were scattered over an extensive territory. Early in the settlement of the South Island, when much of the country was still unknown, Ngai Tahu and successive tribes built a structured world around the landmarks that were found within their territories. The names Ngai Tahu Whanui applied to physical landmarks contained a huge amount of information about the land and the relationship of one place to another. In this way Maori found their way around the country; landmarks served to aid the memory maps used by Ngai Tahu Whanui as they travelled the many trails that spread across the South Island. Their ability to accurately navigate across the South Island was largely linked to their ability to both remember sights and to hear the verbal reminders contained within narratives. Locations within the Mt Aspiring region played a large part in the history of Ngai Tahu Whanui, in terms of creation mythology, tribal history and resources like pounamu. The earliest of these sites are associated with Waitaha and Kati Mamoe traditions and the later sites with Ngai Tahu. As Dacker (1988) puts it:

Because Kai Tahu moved throughout Te Wai Pounamu their knowledge of the land was intimate and detailed, places and their names were part of a memory system in which religious belief, history and geography were combined. Any Kai Tahu who knew the tribes' traditions and histories would be able to find their way around the island (Dacker, 1988, p.17).

As with British colonisation in other parts of the world, the onset of colonisation in New Zealand saw the rapid erosion of traditional Maori power structures and the alienation of tribal lands. Inevitably this led to the replacement of indigenous geographies by colonial geographies. This meant that indigenous practices, which had defined Maori existence, were displaced through the so-called 'discovery' of territory by Europeans. The known environment for Maori was transformed by Europeans through the alienation of tribal land and the renaming of places, which already had both names and histories associated with them. Over substantial parts of New Zealand, traditional Maori geographies were erased by a new European iconography of landscape. This trend was evident in the study region with landscape being redesigned by early European settlers and explorers who set about renaming places without acknowledging the existence of pre-colonial geographies. This was highly evident amongst the mountains and rivers of the region. Practically all of the Maori placenames in the Mount Aspiring region were replaced by European derived names. Hence Tititea (Te Maahaki o Tu Te Rakiwhanoa) became Mount Aspiring and Whakatipu ka tuka became the Hollyford River.

The only apparent survivors from pre-colonial times were names of lakes of Hawea, Wanaka and Whakatipu.

Another effect of colonisation was the physical alteration of the landscape by European settlers, which ensured that the traditional way of life for Ngai Tahu Whanui was no longer viable. For Ngai Tahu Whanui an expanding European presence drastically affected their traditional land use systems: for example the clearing of native bush made way for agriculture and horticulture, wetlands were drained and large areas were alienated through land purchases. The semi-nomadic lifestyle of Ngai Tahu Whanui was constrained. Many of the resources they had previously gathered as mahinga kai had disappeared through the physical transformation of the landscape by settlers. This was also compounded through the loss of access to many of the remaining mahinga kai sites because of British land tenure and the idea of property rights. This separation of Ngai Tahu Whanui from the environment was pronounced by more than just the loss of resources. It meant the loss of their identifying features as a distinct tribal entity, that is their manawhenua, rangatiratanga, turangawaewae, kaitiaki responsibilities; and, most importantly, the loss of control over those aspects of the landscape that represented the physical manifestations of their tupuna. All of these things then contributed to the decline of the traditional way of life for Ngai Tahu Whanui.

The impacts of colonisation were also accentuated by a number of events that preceded the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. During the

1820s and 1830s the Ngai Tahu population suffered drastic declines in their population base. These declines in population can be traced back to the Kai Huanga feud (1825), the campaigns of Te Rauparaha (1828-1839) and from the spread of disease. One outcome of this decrease in population saw the collective strength of the tribe weakened against the large-scale land purchases that began in 1844.

The meanings that Ngai Tahu Whanui apply to the landscape today are not the same as those they once held. By this I mean the meanings that the tribe holds for the landscape are not static, but are continually evolving and being reinterpreted. Hana O'Regan (2001) in *Ko Tahu, Ko Au* expresses this type of sentiment, discussing the constantly shifting nature of Ngai Tahu identity. "A trend in Kai Tahu identity which will show a constant reinterpretation of the tribal self in response to external and internal pressures and threats (O'Regan, 2001, pp. 27-28).

The meanings attributed to the landscape by Ngai Tahu Whanui in the past, present and future exist to fulfil particular functions. While many aspects of the traditional relationship remain important, other aspects have been reinterpreted to fit the passage of time, while others have been abandoned. For example, the intimate knowledge that tribal members once had of the landscape, where every intricate detail of the topography was remembered, is no longer needed, as their survival no longer relies upon it. Members of the tribe no longer have to travel the mountain passes and coastal plains for weeks at a time in the traditional journeys for food and resources. These

traditional journeys can now be completed in a matter of hours, along the highways and byways of the South Island.

At the turn of the twentieth century the effects of large scale purchases, in combination with warfare and the spread of disease, left Ngai Tahu Whanui dispossessed and in danger of fragmenting. Despite the 'landlessness', the tribe's connection to the landscape and their tipuna still remained; always there to promote permanence, security, belonging and identity. This relationship with the landscape, in conjunction with other aspects of Ngai Tahu Whanui identity such as Te Kereme, not only maintained and promoted cultural identity, it also helped work as a unifying agent amongst the tribe. So in the years when Ngai Tahu Whanui considered themselves as "strangers in their own lands", the landscape and Te Kereme (the Ngai Tahu Claim) stood as reminders of who they were as a tribe. According to writers such as O'Regan (1999,1984a), Grey (1996, 1993) and Tau (2002, 2000, 1997) the landscape remains as an important and enduring reminder of the past to those who identify themselves as being of Ngai Tahu Whanui descent; within and outside of the tribe's traditional rohe.

6.3 Identify and describe the relationship that Maori have formed with the Department of Conservation.

The fate of indigenous peoples, the spread of colonisation and the expansion of natural protected areas are historically intertwined. There is a link between the continued erosion of tribal lands and the early management

and land procurement practices for these newly emerging national parks. The dispossession of land for conservation purposes can be seen as an extension of the philosophies and policies regarding indigenous peoples at the time. These newly evolving natural protected areas were centred on land that was deemed to have low economic value. These so-called "wastelands" were composed almost exclusively of mountainous regions like Fiordland and the Mt Aspiring region. Early western understandings of wilderness prompted the preservation of these pristine wildernesses, which in the mind of early preservationists, entailed the exclusion of indigenous people from parks and other protected land, thereby ignoring their rich native histories. Besides preservational ideas, wilderness areas were also protected because of tourist and scientific motivations. Scientific motivation was in part fuelled by concern over New Zealand's disappearing endemic flora and fauna (Devlin, 1993, p. 87), while tourist motivations were based on New Zealand's aesthetic potential. The protection of areas such as Milford Sound and the glaciers of Westland were influenced by their popularity as tourist destinations as much as they were by their need for preservation (Devlin, 1993, p.8).

Legislation such as the National Parks Act 1980 have been tailored to protect the aesthetic dimensions of the landscape. This type of preservationist approach led to a clash of views over the protective nature of the park (its exclusive nature) and the Maori view of the rangatiratanga principle guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi. The first notable change in conservation policy, which moved away from the traditional practice of actively pursuing policies involving the restriction or exclusion of indigenous people

from conservation land, did not occur until the 1980s. This move away from previous park policy reflected the growing awareness in the 1970s of indigenous issues that were being manifested in protests and rallies.

While there have been moves towards recognising indigenous land rights globally and in New Zealand; the question still remains: What kinds of rights and protection are realistic? For the Department of Conservation in New Zealand, the presence of 'Maori places' has created a number of complex issues, involving the creation and implementation of management strategies aimed at satisfying both Maori and western conservation values. This need to recognise and provide for Maori values has seen the return of many important Maori cultural concepts to environmental management. The growing use of concepts such as taonga, tikanga and kaitiakitanga by government agencies will go some way towards re-establishing traditional geographies and recognising Maori attachments to the landscape. The application of these concepts through DOC's pukenga atawhai training programme or through a conceptual framework such as Blackford and Matunga's (1993) will enhance the understanding of and the integration of Maori values into management strategies.

In terms of Mount Aspiring National Park, the relationship between the Department and iwi, for the most part, seems positive. This has been helped through the introduction of the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 and the added protection and recognition it brings to traditional Ngai Tahu geographies. Several of the landforms considered important to Ngai Tahu

within this region now have the added protection of Deed of Recognition and Statutory Acknowledgment. Mount Aspiring (Tititea), Mount Earnslaw (Pikirakatahi) and the Slip-Stream area (Koroka) all have the added protection of Topuni status, which recognises and accounts for specific values associated with these particular landmarks. The introduction of dual placenames will help re-establish order in the landscape and the return of these traditional Ngai Tahu geographies.

In terms of New Zealand's conservation estate, the Conservation Act 1987 provides for the recognition of Maori rights and traditions, thereby guaranteeing iwi a voice in the decision making process. As active participation of Maori in the management of the conservation estate is seen as a Treaty obligation, DOC is constantly improving their consultation and participation mechanisms. This move towards recognising Maori interests in the conservation estate has, in some ways, been forced upon the Department by new legislation such as the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement-1998. Due to Treaty settlements, ongoing refinement regarding the principles of the Treaty and the evolving relationship between Maori and DOC, the Department will always be open to change and extension.

In New Zealand comprehensive planning can both promote rangatiratanga and complement iwi and DOC resource planning. Currently, planning regimes within the Department incorporate the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi when considering decisions regarding the management of the conservation estate. To be of value, however, decisions that will affect

areas of tribal territory have to be relevant to indigenous peoples and evaluated in terms of their potential contribution to their cultural process. Organisations such as DOC must have effective lines of consultation with local iwi and hapu to ensure the delivery of culturally appropriate services to Maori. The natural environment cannot be managed in its entirety unless there is a full understanding of the cultures that have shaped the present day landscape.

With the resolution of indigenous land claims in New Zealand, National Parks and other natural protected areas have become a significant factor in the negotiated claims between the Crown and iwi because of the sheer size of those lands. Due to the scale of the conservation estate, it is inevitable that the lands will contain many sites considered to be waahi tapu. The size and scale of conservation lands also means that, in many cases, National Parks will be the only viable option available to Maori with the ability to support traditional customary activities. The current state of the legislation makes it highly unlikely that large amounts of conservation land will be returned to iwi in the course of Treaty resolutions. What remains is the extent to which iwi can participate with the Department in the management of these lands. The benefit of the negotiated Treaty settlements for the co-operative conservation management between iwi and the Department is that the agreement clearly establishes a structure of responsibility and accountability.

There are clear differences experienced between iwi in the North and iwi in the South Island. In the South Island, the conservation estate is

predominantly made up of mountainous inland areas where Maori title has long been extinguished. The major issues regarding land in the South Island have centered upon the debate over lowland coastal areas and 'hole in the middle'. Another factor that has positively influenced the relationship between South Island Maori and the Department is, that despite the size of the Department's holdings in the South there are very little cross-boundary issues with other iwi. This makes operating in the South Island a much easier proposition as it is generally clear who the people with the manawhenua are. The structure of Ngai Tahu Whanui also helps promote this positive relationship as it has a highly defined tribal structure that identifies the appropriate hapu for any given area. In comparison, the North Island contains many more iwi groupings still waiting for their claims to be heard. They are affected by cross claims; iwi cross claims as well as hapu cross claims making it a more complex proposition to identify the correct people to deal with at any particular time.

In the southern conservancy offices, following the resolution of the Ngai Tahu Claim, DOC is forging a good relationship with Ngai Tahu Whanui at both the iwi level and with Papatipu Runanga, based upon the framework provided by the settlement. The Department's involvement at the Papatipu Runanga level is a hands-on approach, with actual tangible projects like buff weka relocation, pingao revegetation and general redevelopment work being designed to demonstrate the commitment that the Department has in its relationship with Maori. The work of the Department at the iwi level alongside

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu is more policy-focused to ensure the continuation of ground projects and to evaluate progress of the settlement document.

6.4 Summary

It is in their oral traditions that Ngai Tahu whanui have located the meanings of the places that surround them. It is through myth, proverb, song and whakapapa that places stay alive in memory and give rise to the feelings they have towards certain places. Linguistic, visual and cognitive devices played important roles in the evolution of placenames and stories regarding the landscape for the tribe. In these ways cultural and individual identity was inseparable from the spatial environment. The meanings ascribed to the landscape have formed tribally specific senses of place. Self-identification in terms of the landscape provides, for Ngai Tahu Whanui, a common bond. In the past and present, and in the future, the traditions of the tribe will bring the landscape alive with meanings and significance. Past memories and histories are intertwined with continued confrontation with those places in the present, bringing more layers of history.

There has been marked progress in the relationship between Ngai Tahu Whanui and the Department of Conservation. While not trying to undervalue the Department's section (4) responsibilities, most of this positive relationship has been based upon the enactment of the Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act. There are still a number of aspects regarding the settlement that are yet to effected; this is generally because the papatipu rununga are not

yet ready for them. The status of conservation lands does not matter to Maori, as it does not come into their cultural thinking. What is important to Ngai Tahu Whanui is their intellectual construction of mythical space and their links to specific places in the landscape.

Finally, I consider that the following quote from Bernbaum sums up the importance of all the salient features at the heart of this thesis: landscapes, people, identity and conservation.

“Mountains have ability to act as a powerful force as cultural symbols for people in the modern world, measures to conserve only the environment without regard for what it enshrines denigrates the value that place holds for other people” (Bernbaum, 1994, p. 57).

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the Waitangi Tribunal

- Evidence of Andrew Maika Mason, Greymouth, Nov 1987
- Evidence of Gordon McLaren, Hokitika, April 1988
- Evidence of Albert Te Naihi-McLaren, Hokitika, April 1988
- Opening submission of Henare Rakihiia Tau, Rangiora, 1987

¹ The material consists of the statement of claim, submissions, evidence, supporting papers, and closing address for the Ngai Tahu claim as presented before various sittings of the Tribunal throughout the South Island from 1987 to 1989. Accompanied by inventory giving authors and titles of individual papers, together with details of place and date.

8.0 Appendices

8.1 Place Names

Sourced From: Ngai Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998; and Herries Beattie; Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori (1994), Maori Lore of Lake, Alp and Fiord (1994), Maori Place Names of Otago Our Southernmost Maoris (1954), The Maoris and Fiordland (1949), Maori Place Names of Otago (1944).

Akiri – Sydney Beach

Ari – Mt Alfred

Atua-rere (flying demon)– Long Reef Point

Awa-rua (two rivers) (1) – Haast River

Awarua (2) – Awarua River

Haehae-nui– Arrow River

Haumai tiketike – Mount Prospect

Hau-mai-tiketike (wind from the hieghts) – Mount Brewster

Hau makatikati – Breast Peak

Hawea - Hawea

Hine-makawe (daughter of Kuha-makaia) – Mount Castor

Hine-pipi-wai – Lake Marian

Huna-iti (little hidden lake)– Lake Howden

Hukairoroa Te Parekiore (The glacier formed by Parekiore) – Bonar Glacier

Hokau – Sara Hills

Hokuri – Hokuri Creek

Hokiauau – Big Bay

Hotu – Mt Prospector

Irinao – Lake Adelaide

Ka-hui-tamariki (gathering of childern) – Mount Grandview

Kahukura (grandchild of Hine Makawe) – Mount Alba

Kaipo – Kaipo Bay

Ka awa Whakatipu – Dart River

Ka-kamu-a-hakitekura (The twinkling seen by Hakitekura) – Cecil & Walter Pks.

Ka-mauka-a-whakatipu – Alisa Mountains

Ka-mekameka – Mount Dottrell

Kaoreore – Pyke River

Kapao (mottled flax) – Holillyford River Mouth

Ka-puke-maeroero (fairy haunted hills) – Bayonet Peaks

Ka Tiritiri o te Moana – The Southern Alps

Kawarau – The Remarkable's

Kimi-akau – Shotover river

Kirikiri-katata (gravelly and fissured) – area btw Mts. Cerebus and Anstead

Koinui – Martins Bay South Point

Kokotane (The male Tui) – Breast Burn

Ko-mahaka-katua – Burke River

Ko-tara-patua – Queensberry Hill

Ko-te-wai-a-koroiti (little finger) – Wills River

Koti-kao – Minaret Burn

Kuhamakaia (son of Pohaitaka) – Glacier Dome

Kura-marakaraka – Mount Thomas

Maakahi-o-Tu-te-Rakiwhanoa(The wedge of Tu te Rakiwhanoa)–Mt Aspiring
Mahoru (exposed to view) – Mount Tyndall
Makai-rohia (a wedge screened with bushes) – Mount Edwards
Manu-upoko-rua (bird with two heads) – Bryneira Range
Mata-pou – Mount Macfarlane
Mata-rua (two faces) – Roaring Creek
Matau – Pig Island
Mate-heraki – Mt Madeleine
Ma-tuna-rere – High Falls Creek
Momona (fat pigeons / birds) – Hut Creek
Neinei – Area between Routeburn and Lake Harris
Noho-o-rua (sitting place of rua) – Students Peak
Noho-tu-roa – Deadmans Bluff
O-kahu-ki-te-aruhe (surface of the fernroot) – Mount Swindle
O-kopiri – Peaks of Mount Tole, Mount Fergusson, etc...
Omuru – Falls Creek
Otakaha – Lake MacKellar
Otanenui (The palce of the big man) – Young River
Otapahu (dog skin cloak) – Mount Aspiring
Otapara – Lake Gunn
Otataha (The place of the axe) – Wilkin River
Otatau – Dores Pass
O-te-roko-nui – Jamestown
O-te-rotu – Kawarau Falls
O-te-ti (place of the cabbage tree) – Fern Burn
O-toa-tahi – Landsborough River
O-tu-raki (The place of Turaki) – MacKerrow Range
O-turu (the place of turu) – Olivine Ice Plateau
Otukerau – Darran Range
Paekaru – Mt Crosscut
Pakihiwitahi – Mt McKenzie
Paki-tuhi – Breast Hill
Pa-whara-riki – Bald Hill
Piki-noa – Earl Range
Pikirakatahi – Mt Earnslaw
Pikiraki-tahi – Mount Kinross
Pohai-taka (descendant of Rakaihautu) – Mount Pollux
Pine rua – May Hills
Pi-o-te-koko (younglings of the Tui) – Dingle Burn
Puahere – Rees River
Puahuru – Shotover / Kawarua confluence
Puairuru – Mt Lyttle
Puharakeke (A bunch of flax)– Jean Batten Peak?
Puke-raki (Sky Hill) – Mount Dick
Puna-tapu (sacred springs) – Bob's Cove
Pupapa – Loch Fergus
Rakai (standing up threateningly) – Mount Hooker
Rua-tea – Mount Doris
Tahuna (Shallow place) – Queenstown

Taki-aho – Roy's Peninsula
Takiana – Roy's Peak
Tane-au-roa – Indentation north-west of Roy's Peak
Tapuae-nuku – Hector Mountains
Tarahaka Whakatipu – Harris Saddle
Tara-mahiti-hiti – Mid Dome
Tara-puta – Mount Criffel
Taumaro – Barrier Range
Tauru-hawea (sources of Hawea) – Hepwood Burn
Te ahi-a-hikaororoa (The fire of Hikaororoa) – Wolf River
Te-ahi-a-Hakitekura (The fire of Haki-te-kura) – Refuge Point
Te-awa-kai-whio (stream where the blue mountain duck was eaten)
 – Bay Burn
Te-awa-whakatipu – Dart River
Te Heia (ridge of a hill) – Mt Eglinton
Te Hokai – Awarua Point
Te Hoka-putu – Lake Harris
Te Huakaue – Knobs Flat
Te Kete Ika a Rakaihautu – the fish basket of Rakaihautu.
Te Kahika – Rumbling Burn
Te Kimi (The search) – Cascade Creek
Te Kirikiri – Frankton
Te Koko (The Tui) – Hidden Falls Creek
Te Komama – Routeburn
Te Koroka – Cosmos Peak
Te Motu-mounu – Ruby Beach
Te Motu-paroro – Mackenzie Creek
Te Motu-tu-roa – Mistake Creek
Te Motu-turoro – Olivine Burn
Tenuku-o-Hakitekura (The place of Haki-te-kura) – Kawarau Peninsula
Te Pari-pounamu – Greenstone Quarry
Te Piko-o-nehe – Conical Hill
Te Rakau-a-te-au-roa – The Pivot
Te Tahuri-o-heu (The turning round of Heu) – Mackay Creek
Te Tapu-nui – Queenstown Hill
Terepu (a lump on the knee) – Lookout Hill
Te Tatau-a-Raki (The counting of Raki) – Key Summit
Te-taumata-o-hakitekura (The high place of Hakitekura)
Te Taumata-o-hine-pipi-wai (The high place of Hine-pipi-wai) – Mt Christina
Te Tawaha-o-Hawea – The outlet of Hawea
Te Tu-o-nehe – Ocean Peak
Te Uhakata – Mount Maude
Te Wa (The space) – Dome pass
Te Wai-o-heu (The stream of Heu) – Boyd Creek
Te Wai-o-hine-tu – Lake Wilmot
Te Wai-o-te-unu – Lake Lochy
Te Wehi-rua – Marian Camp area
Te Whare-manu (The house of birds) – Young Range
Te Whenua-hou – Knuckle Peak
Te Whiwhi-o-kura-taki-mea (The entanglement of Kura-takimea) – Turret pks

Tihei-Mauri-ora – The Knoll
Tiori-patea – Haast Pass
Titirauraki (the land of many peaks piercing the clouds) – Northwest Otago
Tititea (Glistening White Peak) – Mount Aspiring
Toki-porutu – Mount Pisa
Totara-ka-wha-wha (The Totara tree split open) – Forest between Kinlock
 and Greenstone river mouth
Tuara-puta – Mount Kinnard
Tuketuke – Pass Creek
Turihuka (wife of Tamatea) – Mount Dingle
Turu – Diamond Lake
Tutaurika – Mt Macpherson
Tu-te-pounamu – Greenstone Gorge
Tu-wairua (Child of Kahukura) – Mount Hyperia
Upokororo (The greyling fish) – Eglinton River
Upoko-tauia – Hunter River
Wai-ka-mahaka (twin waters) – Moke Lake
Waieka – Barrier River
Waipuna – Lake Johnston
Wai Pounamu – Greenstone River
Wai-whaka-ata (water that reflects objects) – Lake Hayes
Waiwahu ika – Lake Alabaster
Wanaka – Wanaka
Wawahi waka ⁽¹⁾ – Lake Alabaster
Wawahi waka (splitting canoes) ⁽²⁾ – Pigeon Island
Whaka-ari – Richardson Range
Whakaaro-o-ruru – Mt Talbot
Whaka-puru-rauaruhe (To block up with fern leaves) – Middle peak
Whakatipu-wai-maori – Lake Whakatipu
Whakatipu Waitai (salt water Whakatipu) – Lake MacKerrow
Whatu-riki (small stone) – Red Hill
Whiti-rau (many crossings) – Mountains at head of the Turnbull River

8.2 *Glossary of Maori terms*

- **Ahi ka** – fires of occupation, occupation rights.
- **Aotearoa** – New Zealand.
- **Atua** – the gods.
- **Hapu** – sub tribe.
- **Hine-taupari-maunga** – the mountain maid.
- **Iwi** – Maori tribal groups.
- **Kaitiakitanga** – guardianship.
- **Ka Tiritiri o te Moana** – The Southern Alps.
- **Kawa** – protocol.
- **Kawanatanga** – governorship.
- **Ko** – digging stick.
- **Kotahitanga** – unity.
- **Maero** – wild man.
- **Mahinga kai** – traditional places for gathering food and other resources.
- **Mana** – power, influence, status, dignity.
- **Manaakitanga** – caring, friendship, reciprocity.
- **Manawhenua** – authority over certain geographical area.
- **Maunga** – mountain.
- **Maunga Tipua** – enchanted mountain.
- **Mauri** – life essence.
- **Pakeha** – New Zealander of non-Maori descent.
- **Papatuanuku** – the ancestral elemental mother.
- **Patupaiarehe** – fairy people.
- **Pepeha** – proverb, statement of tribal identity.
- **Pounamu** – Greenstone.
- **Rohe** – geographic territory of an iwi or hapu.
- **Rangatira, Rangatiratanga** – chief, chiefly authority.
- **Ranginui** – the ancestral elemental father.
- **Take tupuna** – occupational right through unbroken rights of descent.
- **Takiwa** – area, sub tribal boundaries
- **Tangata Whenua** – people of the land, local people.
- **Taniwha** – supernatural water-based creature, spirit of a river or lake.
- **Taonga** – treasured possessions, both material and non-material.
- **Tapu** – scared, restricted
- **Te ika a Maui** – North Island.
- **Te kete aronui, Te kete tuauri, Te kete tuaatea** – baskets of knowledge.
- **Te Kete Ika a Rakaihautu** – the fish basket of Rakaihautu.
- **Tikanga** – customs, principles, traditional correct ways of doing things.
- **Tino Rangatiratanga** – rights of autonomous self-regulation.
- **Tohunga** – priest.
- **Tupuna, Tipuna** – ancestors.
- **Turangawaewae** – place to stand, link to whakapapa and cultural identity.
- **Wairuangatanga, Wairua** – spiritual dimension.
- **Waahi Tapu, Wahi Tapu** – sacred places
- **Wehi** – fear, awe
- **Whakapapa** – genealogy, identity with a place and hapu cultural identity.
- **Whanau** – family groups
- **Whaunaangatanga** – family relationship, genealogy

- **Whenua – the land**

8.3 Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is seen as the founding document of the nation of New Zealand. It was signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and Maori chiefs.

www.govt.nz/aboutnz/treaty

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI 1840

English text

Her Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands.

Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has

been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize "me William Hobson a Captain" in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

ARTICLE THE FIRST

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

ARTICLE THE SECOND

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over

such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

ARTICLE THE THIRD

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

[Signed] W Hobson Lieutenant Governor

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

TIRITI O WAITANGI 1840

Maori text

Ko Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira--hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani--kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu--na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona lwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aiane, amoa atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

KO TE TUATAHI

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu--te Kawanatanga katoa o ratou wenua.

KO TE TUARUA

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu--ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua--ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

KO TE TUATORU

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini--Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

[signed] William Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.

Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

8.4 The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

The principles were first defined in the New Zealand Court of Appeal in *NZ Maori Council v. Attorney General* (1987) 1 NZLR 641. Although the principles are still evolving through the pronouncements of the Courts and the Waitangi. In general terms as designated by the Department of Conservation, the principles are as follows (DOC, 2001, pp. 179-180):

The Essential Bargain

Principle 1 – Kawanatanga

To recognise the crown's authority to make laws for the good and security of the country.

Principle 2 – Rangatiratanga

To recognise the right of Maori to exercise iwi authority and control over their own land resources and toanga

Principle 3 – Oritetanga

To recognise the rights of Maori and non-Maori alike to equality of treatment and privileges of citizenship.

Co-operation

Principle 4 – Whakawhanaungatanga

To act reasonably and in good faith

Duty to be informed

Principle 5 – He here kai mohio

To make informed decisions

Active protection

Principle 6 – Tautiaki ngangahau

Where appropriate and to the fullest extent practicable, to take active steps to protect Maori interests.

Avoid prejudicial actions

Principle 7 – Whakatia i te mea he

To avoid actions which could create new treaty grievances.

Principle 8 – Whakatia I te mea he

To avoid actions which would prevent the redress of claims.